Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
CARLI: Consortium of Academic and Research Libraries in Illinois

http://www.archive.org/details/midamericahistor24unse

The Catholic
Theological Union
LIBRARY
Chicago, Ill.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1942

~~EX LIBRIS PROVINCIAE
PRO STUDIO THEOL.
S. S. CORDIS JESU.~~

The Catholic
Theological Union
LIBRARY
Chicago, Ill.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

JESUIT FOUNDERS IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL . . . . *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 3

GOUVEIA: JESUIT LAWGIVER IN BRAZIL *J. Manuel Espinosa* 27

EDWARD CREIGHTON AND THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH . . . . *P. Raymond Nielson* 61

BOOK REVIEWS 75

BURNETT, *The Continental Congress;* LANGDON, *Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876;* DOWNEY, *Indian-Fighting Army;* WELLMAN, *Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French*; MADARIAGA, *Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico;* LEITE, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira)* and *Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heróica e a Sua Obra Literária;* ROSENMAN, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt.*

MANAGING EDITOR
JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

277.7305
I29i
V.24

6135

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
JANUARY 1942
VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 1

Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil

THE AWAKENING INTEREST IN BRAZIL

One of the most notable enlargements of knowledge in the whole field of historical writings has been brought about in these recent years by scholars in the United States who have centered their attention on the many phases of Spanish American activities. Since the "discovery" of South America by North American historians in the early decades of this century, the shelves of libraries have gradually become bulky with all types of informative writings, while the knowledge of past and present conditions of South and Central America has been spread more widely among the various classes of people in this country. General interest in the other nations of the Western Hemisphere has been enormously stimulated in more recent times by the inauguration of various programs of intellectual cooperation. The demand for information beyond the superficial daily grows greater, owing to the widespread graduate work in universities, to the manifold problems of economy and defense, to the gradual breakdown of prejudice, and to the program of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State. Spanish America is now a vital concern of everyday America.

Following along at a respectable distance in years in the wake of the students of Spanish America are the far fewer writers on early Portuguese and Brazilian developments. Portugal left no early monuments in our lands, and played no rôle in our international affairs. The greater language barrier has played its part in retarding a growth of knowledge about her past glories in Brazil, and has shut off from English readers a fine library of worth-while books. Not because the scholars of Portugal and Brazil have been idle has this situation arisen. In fact their writers have been assiduously producing high types of scholarly works with distinctively new approaches. Regularly, source materials are produced in the Portuguese. Yet, despite their efforts and those of the Latin American historians of this country, fundamental concepts about the great fifteenth century of the Portuguese, and about the origins of the largest of the American republics, are vague and shadowy.

The reasons for the neglect in the English-speaking world of the social, religious, and cultural beginnings in sixteenth-century Brazil are difficult to classify. Historians emphasized more the colorful advance of the Spanish Empire in the New World, rather than the plodding progress of the Portuguese. The coming of the Braganza court and of Portugal itself to Brazil in Napoleonic times, and the Empire under Dom Pedro II had greater possibilities. Moreover, as writers generally admit, the only dynamic cultural force during a great part of colonial times in Brazil was the Jesuit Order,[1] and all-important manuscript records covering the period remained until recent times unexploited in Jesuit archives. But whatever the reasons for neglect in the past, the fact is that a marvelous field for study has been opened in Brazil. In the last half of the nineteenth century some of the Jesuit relations were published. With the scientific perusal of such documents the full significance of the wealth of materials in the Jesuit archives became apparent to Portuguese and Brazilian historians. At present "a complete revision of Brazilian history is now possible."[2] The time is ripe for at least some preliminary writings in English concerning this important history of Brazilian beginnings, so well known among Portuguese readers as to be almost a byword.

The only detailed history of sixteenth-century Brazil in English has long been the first volume of Southey.[3] His sources were slender, even entirely lacking for the last quarter of the fifteen hundreds, and consequently his work is of the flora-and-fauna, native-custom, and moralizing type. His observations, shallow though they were, set the form to the present for many more inept generalizers. Nevertheless, Southey, who confessedly hated Catholicism, and who applied the *leyenda negra* to Portugal's American efforts at Christianization, bitterly rendered high praise to the work of the Jesuits.

---

[1] Pedro Calmon, *História Social do Brasil,* 3 volumes, São Paulo, 1940, I, 15, 111-112, 114-135.

[2] Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 2 volumes (thus far), São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 15.

[3] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil,* 3 volumes, London, 1810; second edition, 1822; in Portuguese, *História do Brazil,* 6 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

> Joam III was the great benefactor of the Jesuits, their first, steadiest, and most useful friend. He had already sent out S. Francis Xavier to the East, and now the souls of his Brazilian subjects became a cause of concern to him. Joam was superstitious to the lowest depth of degradation, but he was pious also; his misdirected faith occasioned in him a slavish observance of absurd forms, and a cruel intolerance toward those of a different belief; . . . Christianity, even when so disfigured and defiled, is still, from those moral and domestic precepts which are inseparable from it, a great and powerful engine of civilization, a great and inestimable blessing. . . .[4]

Having bound the Jesuits up with John III, Southey recognizes them as "the protectors of the Indians: this though it is Jesuit's language, is here also the language of truth"; and regarding the Indians, the Jesuits "excited their admiration and respect by the decency and holiness of their deportment, and they won their love by manifesting a disinterested good-will toward them, of which all their conduct in Brazil bore testimony."[5]

Remarks favorable to the Jesuits might not have been expected of one steeped in the Elizabethan tradition of hatred, but one would assuredly not expect to find in a textbook published in these enlightened United States, one hundred and thirty years after Southey, a denial of even Southey's begrudged recognition of the achievement of the fathers.

> The Jesuits had held the natives in virtual slavery, reaping rich fruits from their labor. . . . With increased wealth the members became worldly and often corrupt, forgetting their religious vows and the teaching of their faith. . . ."[6]

---

[4] Southey, (1810), I, 222-223.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 300-301. Many similar statements of his could be quoted.

[6] A. Curtis Wilgus, *The Development of Hispanic America,* New York, 1941, 208. These statements are contradicted in other pages, e. g., 231, 232, and thus students are confused. The first restate views expressed by Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *História geral do Brasil,* 5 volumes, third edition, by J. Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia, São Paulo, n. d., II, 422-423, III, 244, 246, and IV, 174-181, and elsewhere. The general merits of this monumental work are known, and defects of his interpretation, his viewpoints, and piece-meal treatments, have been pointed out. The best evaluation of Varnhagen's contribution is in J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e Estudos,* 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1938, I, 127-141, 195-209. See also Basilio de Magalhães, *Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen,* I) *Summaria biographica critica,* II) *Bibliographia methodizada e razoada,* Rio de Janeiro, 1928.

Southey's discussion of events preceding the suppression of the Jesuits, despite personal views on religion, is much more broadly conceived than is Varnhagen's. Generalizations on economic matters as found in both are done for by reason of the scholarly findings in Roberto C. Simonsen, *História Economica do Brasil, 1500-1800,* São Paulo, 1937, II, 115-174, 215. Contrast also the description of Pombal's character in Varnhagen, IV, 317-320, with that of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles,* Madrid, 1911-1932, VI, 148, and J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *O Marques de*

Besides re-echoing prejudices, such subjective generalizations ignore the findings of capable Portuguese and Brazilian scholarship. What offense they give in a country whose people see the likenesses of Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Vieira daily on coins, stamps, and in public parks and buildings, what opinion they leave in Brazil of North American intelligence, cannot be estimated.

Recent Brazilian historians view their history in a very different light. They place the work of the Jesuits at the foundation of their national development. In 1928, J. Capistrano de Abreu repeated what was known to Lusitanian scholars: "A history of the Jesuits is an urgently needed work."[7] Years before, Joaquim Nabuco had written: "Virtually from their first days to the expulsion (1549-1759), the life of the Jesuits in Brazil may be described as having been an incessant struggle for the freedom of the Indians. . . . They are the abolitionists of those days."[8] João Pandiá Calogeras repeats: "Thomé de Souza and Father Manoel da Nóbrega were the real founders of Brazil."[9] José Francisco de Rocha Pombo writes:

> Even to this day there are not lacking those who condemn them as intolerant for the manner in which they set themselves especially against the two greatest evils of the time—the régime of licence in which the whites lived, and the abusive exploitation of the aborigines. What would have come, however, of the cause so truly social and humanitarian which they had come to defend, if they had been willing to tolerate for an instant those dissolute ways and acts of violence? Reacting, therefore, against the condition into which they found the colonies to have degenerated, the Jesuits fulfilled the most difficult and the most heroic of the tasks imposed by the high historic mission that they were to perform. . . . From the moment that they disembarked at Bahia in 1549, until their expulsion . . . they had to wage an incessant struggle against force and undergo a life of suffering on every hand. In many captaincies, such as in S. Vicente and Maranhão, these struggles were among those which more than anything else dis-

---

Pombal e a sua epoca, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, and *id., Os Jesuitas no Grão-Pará,* Coimbra, 1930.

[7] *Capitulos de História Colonial, 1500-1800,* Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 192. Capistrano de Abreu (1853-1927), "one of the outstanding figures in modern Brazilian historiography," is best known for his *Capitulos* and for his edition of Varnhagen, cited above. See Percy A. Martin's English edition of João Pandiá Calogeras, *A History of Brazil,* Chapel Hill, 1939, viii, 31, note 6. A complete bibliography of Capistrano de Abreu's writings is compiled by Tancredo de Barros Paiva, "Bibliographia Capistraneana," *Annaes do Museu Paulista,* São Paulo, IV (1931), 481-512.

[8] *III Centenario do Veneravel José de Anchieta,* Paris-Lisbon, 1900, 328. Nabuco was the famous abolitionist of his own times.

[9] Calogeras-Martin, 10.

> turbed the peace of the colonies. Amidst all this we must recognize the indisputable testimony to the fact that the Jesuits were faithful to their mission. . . . Besides that ideal, these men also played a rôle in the formation of the country and in its future national development which places them among the greatest of our predecessors, to whom we owe our most sincere civic homage; they helped us effectively to defend and preserve our land.[10]

Manoel de Oliveira Lima reaches the conclusion: ". . . the priests of the Jesuit Order rendered such remarkable services in Brazil that it is no exaggeration to say that they were the principal agents of our national culture, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is, during the period in which the new society was adapting itself to its new surroundings."[11] And ten years ago, the eminent contemporary scholar and man of letters, Afrânio Peixoto, a leader and promoter of the study of early Brazilian Jesuit history, summarized the part played by the Society of Jesus in moulding Brazilian civilization.

> [The Jesuits] found small nuclei of settlements on the coast from Pernambuco to São Vicente. The indigines devoured one another; the *reinóes* [Portuguese] killed and enslaved them; some lived in polygamy, others in promiscuity. The clergy themselves were corrupted here.
>
> But the Jesuits came. With them came virtue . . . justice and equity between the two races, Whites and Blacks. . . . And both races were finally dominated by the public and private morality of the Jesuits.
>
> Later they were the teachers and instructors . . . of the *reinóes* . . . the Brazilian natives, free and slave. . . . They gave direction to customs, minds, senses. Class rooms, religious ceremonies, entertainment, song, music, sacred and profane drama, advanced studies, yet never scorning manual labor. Here brothers became priests, and, in a few decades, a Vieira, alumnus of Bahia, was to become a teacher at Olinda, and with what he had acquired in Brazil he was to be marvelled at in Portugal. . . . The Jesuits were builders of houses, churches, colleges, even cities. . . . They were doctors . . . ministering to the infirm. . . . The Jesuits were our salvation when Brazil was born. . . . The Society of Jesus gave form to Brazil in its infancy. . . .
>
> Invaluable documents of history, geography, ethnography, are the chronicles, letters, reports, written about Brazil and the Brazilians during their first contact with civilization. The letter of Caminha, those of Vespucci, the German gazette, the diary of Pero Lopez, the

---

[10] José Francisco de Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil,* 10 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, n. d., III, 396-397, 433-434.

[11] *The Evolution of Brazil,* translated and edited by Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, 1914, 19.

works of Hans Staden, Gandavo, Thevet, Lery, Gabriel Soares . . . have to parallel them, for the first century, the letters of Nóbrega, Anchieta, Cardim . . . "Our Classics."[12]

The third centenary of the death of Anchieta, celebrated in 1897, marks a renascence in Brazil of the study of the rôle of the Jesuits in the colonial period. Leading spirits in this movement were Francisco de Paula Rodrigues, Eduardo Prado, Brasílio Machado, Teodoro Sampaio, Américo de Novais, João Monteiro, Couto de Magalhães, Rui Barbosa, Manuel Vicente da Silva, Julio de Mezquita, Antonio Ferreira Viana, Joaquim Nabuco, and Capistrano de Abreu, outstanding figures in Brazilian historiography.[13] The efforts of these men and others have greatly augmented the bibliography of the sixteenth-century social and cultural history, while the part played by the Jesuits has become fairly well known, due especially to the researches and publications of Capistrano de Abreu, Afrânio Peixoto, Antonio de Alcantara Machado, Vale Cabral, Rodolfo Garcia, Serafim Leite, and the Brazilian Academy. Already the documents gathered together, carefully edited, and published are a remarkable source collection. And there is promise of greater enrichment, if we are to judge from the use made of unexploited documents by Leite in his first two volumes of the *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil.*[14]

In view of these excellent and at times brilliant publications there is no longer any justifiable recourse to hypothetical evidence and all-inclusive generalizations about the structure of early colonial life in Brazil. As Calmon remarks:

> These developments have aided in the clarification of details, the verification of minutiae, and the repudiation of syntheses susceptible to gross errors, . . . they have distinguished basic facts from im-

---

[12] Afrânio Peixoto, ed., *Cartas Jesuíticas,* II, *Cartas Avulsas, 1550-1568,* Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 11-13, 18-19.

[13] Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 2 volumes (thus far), Lisbon, 1938, I, xix-xxvi, bibliographical note.

[14] Father Leite's brilliant and prolific works must be added to the list which he gives in his *História.* His *Páginas de História do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1937, and his more recent *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, de Nóbrega a Vieira,* São Paulo, 1940, add documents to those already published in the *Collecão Afranio Peixoto* of the Brazilian Academy, especially the three volumes entitled *Cartas Jesuíticas* edited by Peixoto. These, with the edition of Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil,* Rio, 1925, and other scattered documents of the Jesuits, are a fine source collection for the sixteenth century. Yet they are the beginning only of the publication of manuscripts. There is now possibility of a Brazilian section in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* and some other volumes of *cartas annuas* similar to the *Documentos* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas of Buenos Aires.

probability and from "notable falsities" which have somewhat colored so many chapters of the officially accepted account.[15]

Indeed, the volumes, over and above the illumination which they have thrown on the emerging picture, have banished certain bogies, have eliminated misconceptions, have brought out highlights, and have sounded a warning to American historians to beware obsolete bias and to be aware of what Luso-American scholarship has achieved.

They have done more. They have indicated the great necessity for a rather sweeping reorientation for English-speaking peoples. Some historians have long argued for an approach to the American scene from the viewpoint of Portuguese progress in the fifteenth century. In many particulars Portugal appears as the first of the modern imperial nations, with all that capitalism and empire building implies. Samuel Purchas was somewhat aware of Portugal's contribution to the modern era: "And unto Portugall was Spain beholden for Columbus, and Columbus also for his skill, whereby the Colombian (so fitlier named than American) World was discovered."[16] How long will it be before this newer approach becomes familiar? Those who have decried the idea of beginning the history of the Americas with Jamestown and the *Mayflower* may be able to answer. Once a vantage point for a broad outlook has been given and accepted, it is difficult to cut one's way down into the thorny and rocky valley of details.

The same need for a reorientation applies to the history of the Jesuits in the two Americas. Their missionary and educational activities, it was found out in recent decades, did not begin and end in New France. Their labors in Spanish America, embarked upon much earlier, were far more widespread and productive of results. So ubiquitous were they that it will be years before the documents which they have left behind them from Mexico to Chile will have been completely organized. But with the opening of the Brazilian and Portuguese studies it becomes increasingly clearer that the story of their American developments goes back, beyond the Spanish approach, to the Portuguese fathers in the Brazilian field. The missionary ideals of the Jesuit founders were first put into effect from Portugal. The first invitation to the mission fields came from the Portuguese crown. Procedures, regulations, methods of organizing and dealing with the native Indians were thought out in Brazil and later adapted by the Spanish and French fathers. The effects of the Jesuits on Brazil were altogether more enduring than they were in other sections of the Americas. The guns of the great conflict which they waged in all sectors against enslavement and the unjust exploitation of the aborigines, opened fire first in Brazil. And in Brazil they were first silenced.

---

[15] *História do Brasil,* 15.

[16] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes,* Glasgow-New York, 1905, II, 19.

Certain phases of the missionary work of the Jesuits in Brazil received mention at greater or less length in any English textbook touching the history of that vast area. Practically nothing is known outside Portugal and Brazil of the systems of education, primary, secondary, and higher, maintained there in the colonial period, and nothing is known of the northern mission systems obtaining there. Authors generally make their remarks revolve around the deeds of three or four fathers whom no writer could possibly omit. But, Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Vieira would not have appeared on the scene in any efficient rôle without the backing of a solid organization and without the background of training, nor could their efforts have succeeded if these factors and capable helpers had been lacking. Moreover, only organized, cooperative effort, directed by a succession of forceful administrators, could have produced any lasting impression upon the land and upon the life of its native and incoming peoples; only coordinated attack and unified motivation could have sustained the drive against paganism or the positive program of education over the span of two hundred years. Wherefore, it seems, a brief sketch of the organization of the Jesuits in Portugal for that drive is fundamental to a description of the formation of the Brazilian units.

JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Portugal sets the date of its birth in 1140. It stretched itself south to its present size by 1253, mostly at the expense of the Moslems. It won a complete separation from neighboring Castile, and opened a second and mature epoch in its history in the battle of Aljubarrota, 1385. In that year the glorious rule of João I (1385-1433), the first of the House of Aviz, commenced. Portugal took its first step overseas in 1415, when the king, the princes, and nobles made a chivalrous assault successfully against Ceuta, the Moorish stronghold across from Gibraltar. The offensive against Islam was pushed vigorously. In 1420 Prince Henry inaugurated the conquest and occupation of the west coast of Africa. Navigators, scientists, crusaders, missionaries, slave hunters, and gold seekers, each according to his motive and interest made remarkable discoveries. Africa, emerging from its darkness as the first New World, was granted to Portugal for Christianization by Pope Nicholas V in 1454, and after the voyage of Bartholomeu Diaz in 1486, sent out by John II, "The Perfect," Portugal had claim to 6,000 miles of its western shores. Her investment over the span of years from 1415 to 1500 had been enormous; her gains in raw products, industries, business, commerce, and prestige, and her losses in men and money and morals were equally great.

A second great colonial front was established soon after Vasco da Gama's journey (1497-1498) around the Cape of Good Hope had pointed the way to India. He sought trade and Christians, and met no followers of Columbus, who had claimed to be occupying the vicinity for Spain. The field was promising, and hence the huge expedition captained by Pedro Alvares Cabral was sent forth manned by soldiers, traders, and missionaries. The "Age of the Heroes" was in full swing. When the intensive occupation of India began in 1505, Portugal was nearing the end of her greatest century.

Political, administrative, financial, and religious difficulties confronted João III on his ascension to the throne in 1521. Every extension of the empire, every increase of trade and industry had proved to be vents through which the life blood of the nation flowed. The wars of conquest, shipwrecks, internal strifes, and frequent devastating plagues had taken great toll of her best manhood.[17] Her population was little more than a million.[18] Many foreign colonies had sprung up in the port cities. Many of the profits of a hard-won colonial business went to foreign lands. Portugal had become cosmopolitan in many ways.[19] Renaissance and foreign thought affected the upper classes.[20] More and more were the lower classes, even jailbirds, utilized for enterprises which were once the privileges of nobility alone. Inexpert navigators and inefficiency had brought ruin to many lenders and borrowers alike. The cost of the naval warfare (1509-1521) which cut the trade lanes of the Mohammedans through the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, was great, even though it hit the Sultan vitally and cut the prestige of Venice and Genoa as trade centers.[21]

---

[17] Francisco de Almeida, *História do Portugal,* Coimbra, 1922-1929, III, 253-257. H. Morse Stephens, *The Story of Portugal,* New York, 1891, might be quoted for statements about the reign of John III and conditions in the kingdom, but it is antequated, maintains an attitude of bias, and is regularly inconsistent; e. g., John III is called a fanatical bigot, 178, 179, though "personally a pious and estimable man." The position of the book in the matter of citation parallels the case of Southey's: it has been quoted because it has been "the only available survey in English." His survey of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, 220-235, is very general and laudatory.

[18] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550,* Westminster, 1899, puts the Portuguese population in 1500 between 1,800,000 and 2,000,000; Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 100, following Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de História Americana,* 1, gives 1,200,000 to 1,400,000; Almeida, III, 242, calculated 1,043,274 for 1421, and 1,122,112 for 1527. However the figure is taken, it remains an astounding fact that throughout its great century Portugal carried on with certainly less than 300,000 men.

[19] Almeida, III, 258.

Material progress, infiltrations of foreign customs, monopolies, the rise of a new monied class, the deterioration of the nobility, Judaism, each tended toward the further disorganization of society. Despite the existence of the undying spirit of the crusader among some, the sense of morality for many had become blunted, and the laxity of the clergy and laity, attributable to many causes, was apparent.

Everywhere the new king, twenty years of age, saw the need of a spiritual, social, intellectual, moral, and economic regeneration. And by degrees he got around to alleviating many of the distresses of his afflicted kingdom.[22] Although certain troubles at home diminished and new ones arose, such as the Protestant Revolt, the rise of the Spanish empire, and the seafaring propensities of French freebooters, he was able to push the colonial program in India and found another empire in Brazil. How he reinvigorated Portugal in one detail may now be described.

King John III ever encouraged education and learning.[23] Boys not only of Lisbon but also from outlying towns were frequently brought to the court for training; the better scholars at times were sent abroad for further studies; Portuguese men of letters and science could be found lecturing in different European universities. The renowned Doctor Diogo de Gouveia, it so happened, was director of the Portuguese College of Santa Barbara, one of the fifty colleges of the great University of Paris, and in 1526 John III gave to this college an endowment to cover fifty scholarships. In the following year one of these bursaries went to a youth of seventeen, Simão Rodrigues de Azevedo, who had come from the small town of Vouzela to the court to be a page to the cardinal in the royal chapel.[24] In October 1527, Simon with his brother embarked upon their courses in the University of Paris, wearing the garb of collegials of the College of Santa Barbara, and rejoicing in the companionship of many Portuguese in Paris who later became prominent in the intellectual, political, and religious life of their homeland. To this college in 1529 came a Basque student, Ignatius of Loyola.

---

[20] *Ibid.,* II, 271.

[21] Sir E. Denison Ross, in *The Cambridge History of India,* Cambridge-New York, 1929, V, 10-13.

[22] Naturally he trod on many a privileged toe, with the logical result that his name has been heaped with opprobrium by some and with eulogy by others. Alexandre Herculano, *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisacão em Portugal,* Lisbon, 1852, (seventh edition, 1907), translated by John C. Branner, Stanford University, 1926, is a jumbled diatribe against religion and the "putrid corpse of absolutism." To him John III as prince was an imbecile and later a fanatic. (See next note for citation to a more accurate appraisal of John's good and bad qualities.) Pope Clement VII, "The gracious friend of Israel," and his successor, Pope Paul III, disagreed with the Inquisition policy of John III, see Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes,* translated by Ralph F. Kerr, third edition, London-St. Louis, Missouri, 1923, X, 371-372, and XII, 45-50; but then, John, otherwise on friendly terms with the papacy, was rebuked in 1524 for imprisoning two Catholic bishops, *ibid.,* X, 371. See also J. D. M. Ford, *Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521-1557,* Cambridge, 1931, xvi-xvii.

[23] Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal,* Pôrto, 1931-1938, Tômo I, Vol. I, xli-xcv, presents a scholarly survey of the intellectual status of the kingdom in the time of John III.

Simon acquired his bachelor's degree in 1532, and then in October of that year commenced his four years of lectures required for his licentiate. Midway through his course, in the summer of 1534, he made a spiritual retreat under the direction of Ignatius of Loyola, during which he arrived at a decision as to his future walk of life. He added his name to the group of students formed by Ignatius—Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, James Laínez, Alphonse Salmeron, and Nicholas Bobadilla—who had the general intention of working for the conversion of Mohammedans to Christianity. Their plans, however, had become more specific, and on August 15, 1534, they all met in a chapel of Montmartre to vow poverty, chastity, obedience, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and lifelong service for the salvation of their neighbor.

The members of this little Company of Jesus having completed their studies at Paris, Ignatius in 1534, Simon in 1536, wended their way in groups through European cities as preachers and pilgrims until they came together in Rome in March 1537, nine in number. After an audience with Pope Paul III in April, they went to Venice, where on June 24, Ignatius, Xavier, Simon, and four others were ordained priests. The practice of good works in various communities and the drafting of their Constitutions occupied the Jesuits to 1540, but before the papal approval of the new religious Order was granted, September 27 of the same year, some had been assigned to evangelize distant parts of the world. Simon Rodrigues was the first of the Jesuits to go forth from Rome bound for the foreign mission field.[25]

---

[24] Rodrigues, *História,* I, I, 43.

The appointment was logical, if consideration is taken of the situation in Portugal. Various Portuguese gentlemen and scholars, among whom prominently was Diogo de Gouveia of the College of Santa Barbara, had been promoting the cause of Ignatius with great moral and material aid during the trying years of the formation of his Company. As a consequence King John III had for years been hearing of the zealous band from one or other prelate, professor, or agent. He was aware, too, of the induction of Simon Rodrigues. The missionary purpose of the Jesuits, especially that of Christianizing Moslems, was long a motivating force in Portugal. The king on August 23, 1539, penned instructions to his Ambassador to Rome, Pedro Mascarenhas, to obtain these Jesuits for services in his Indian possessions. Mascarenhas first let the Pope know the king's wishes, indicating thereby to the Holy See royal sponsorship of the as yet unestablished Order, and then he spoke to Ignatius with good effect. Simon Rodrigues and Francis Xavier were ordered by their superior to Portugal, thence to India. Simon left Rome in March 1540 and arrived at the Court of Lisbon on April 17; Francis joined him there at the end of June.[26]

Padre Rodrigues, then thirty years old, and Xavier, four years his senior, began their apostolate of preaching in the streets and pulpits of Lisbon and nearby towns. The esteem for them on the part of king, court, and people grew so in a month's time that the monarch hesitated between sending them east to aid in the spiritual conquest of India and keeping them home for the betterment of his capital city. His final decision was a compromise: Xavier would go to the Indies, Rodrigues would remain to establish the Jesuits in a college for missionaries to be attached to the University of Coimbra. When the king called the two into his presence to hear his final verdict, Simon had to swallow his deep disappointment. Xavier sailed away to his famous apostolate on April 7, 1541, with the doughty navigator, Governor Martim

---

[25] J. M. Granero, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola, Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum,* Volume VI, Burgos, 1931, 30. This is an excellent compendium of the origins of various missionary methods of the Jesuits.

[26] Rodrigues, *História,* I, I, 232, 241. In view of the excellent work of Father Rodrigues it does not appear advisable to add citations, regarding the early history of the Jesuits in Portugal, in these footnotes. The manuscript sources which he used are unavailable and his citations of published documents and secondary works are quite sufficient.

Afonso da Sousa, recently returned from his sojourn in Brazil, leaving the younger Jesuit with his great desire to evangelize India. Simon's longings for the foreign missions and for the companionship of his great friend are expressed in letter after letter through the following ten years and in the zest with which he set about gathering and forming men for such fields.[27]

His ministries continued with great success in Lisbon, meanwhile banking much on developing the proposed college. In September 1541 John III expressed to Ignatius his wish to give the Company the old, abandoned monastery of St. Anthony of Lisbon. The legalities of the transaction, involving approvals of the Pope, the bishop, and Ignatius (recently elected General of the Company), were conformed with, and on January 5, 1542, the old cloister and church were occupied by a grateful Simon Rodrigues, two others recently admitted to the Company, and three postulants for admission. Other youths became acquainted with the purpose of the Jesuits. By May there were seventeen housed in the small dormitory, some busily engaged in works of mercy and in the primary education of small boys.

The king had not for a moment forgotten his project of a distinctive college at Coimbra, in fact, he had matured his plans for it rapidly. Each new addition of student Jesuits from Italy and France tended to assure him of sincere cooperation on the part of Ignatius, and early reports of the zeal of Xavier and local Jesuits quickened his desire to have more religious priests at home and in the colonies. Consequently, Simon Rodrigues, duly appointed superior of the Jesuits in Portugal, was sent by the king to Coimbra and was welcomed there on June 13 after a four days' journey with twelve companions overjoyed at the prospects before them. Simon had been fortified by a letter of recommendation from John III "to whom it might concern," and by a sum of 700 cruzados for support of his community.[28]

They were given hospitality by the prior of the Hieronymites for a month, while Rodrigues was choosing a housing place for his college, as the group was called. The superior selected two houses that offered sufficient space for living and for a chapel. Over these he appointed Diogo Mirão as rector, even though the young man was still an unordained student of theology. The other members of the collegial group were two from Castile, two from France, three from Italy, three from Portugal, each to begin or to continue his studies in the halls of the University of Coimbra. Only one was a priest, Father Cogordon, a Frenchman. These were the foundation stones of the Colégio de Jesus, whose inconspicuous beginning gave no indication of the illustrious products to come. When at the end of the same June 1542, five new entrants of various nationalities arrived from Rome, the international character of the college was manifest, and, moreover, some idea of John's forgetfulness of national barriers may be gathered.

---

[27] *Ibid.*, 277-279; Granero, *La acción,* 35, 39.

[28] Rodrigues, *História,* I, I, 305, 307.

Regulations had to be drafted and provisions made. Rodrigues did so, giving thus the first detailed legislation of the Society of Jesus; rules of life, of conduct in the streets and lecture halls, and of individual administrative offices were made by him.[29] Thereafter he returned to Lisbon. One by one new members received by him into the Order took up an abode in the college and began to wear a distinctive habit designed at the court and donated by the king. At the end of 1542 there were twenty-five. Seeing the cramped conditions in the residence the rector of the university gave the Company a third house. During 1543 the number of Jesuits in training in the Colégio de Jesus increased to 45; in 1544 it went to 70, and in 1551 to nearly 130.[30] It was destined from its beginning to be the great religious and educational center of the Jesuits in Portugal. In the annals of the Company Coimbra looms large as a testing ground for the *Ratio Studiorum,* the codification of Jesuit educational practices. Many of the regulations, methods, and correctives of the plan of studies had their origin there. From the halls of Coimbra formed Jesuits yearly went forth, some to be professors and administrators in other colleges and universities, some to be preachers, many to be instructors in the increasing number of secondary schools of Europe, and some to be missionaries, educators, builders, and purveyors of European civilization in the vast colonial possessions of Portugal.[31]

Mention might be made of a few important men, whose deeds will be presented in separate articles in future pages of this quarterly. There was Luiz da Grã from Lisbon, who entered the Society and the college in June 1543 at the age of twenty-two. After completing his studies he became the fourth rector of his alma mater and then moved to Brazil in 1553, there to make history worthy of a volume. Outstanding as an orator, missionary, educator, and Jesuit provincial, Grã lived beyond his eighty-seventh birthday, dying at the completion of fifty-five years of work in the new land.[32] Other notable administrators of the Province of Brazil followed a similar path. Manuel da Nóbrega entered the college in November 1544. Ignatius Azevedo joined the Company in December 1548. José de Anchieta began in May 1551, and Cristóvão de Gouveia was admitted in January 1556. These are the more important among a host of graduates who contributed substantially to the social, cultural, economic, and religious organization of sixteenth-century Brazil.

---

[29] *Ibid.,* 537. In his Chapters III and IV, *ibid.,* 537-595, and in other studies, Rodrigues enlarges upon this theme; plentiful details are given to indicate the significance of Simon Rodrigues in the spiritual, literary, and scientific formation of the early Jesuits.

[30] *Ibid.,* 442-443.

[31] *Ibid.,* 443-477, 603-618, 641-675, and I, Vol. II, 523, 517-584.

The architect assigned by John III to draw plans for the new building for the college finally submitted them for approval, but still, owing to some amusing obstructionists, the foundation stones were not laid until April 14, 1547. The occasion called for tributes. Engraved on the individual stones were the names of Jesus, Pope Paul III, Ignatius Loyola, King John III, Queen Catherine, and Prince John.[33]

The Jesuit students who to this time had been receiving all of their instruction in the University of Coimbra, now commenced hearing a lecture course given by one of their graduate members. The number of their instructors gradually increased, until in October 1553, the first Jesuit curriculum of studies having survived tests was put into operation. It embraced three years of grammar, one of humanities, one of rhetoric, three years of Scholastic philosophy, and four years of theology. Two years later the Colégio de Jesus was officially made the College of Arts of the University of Coimbra with royal privileges, open to all students. So it grew, enjoying some healthy disputes, until at the end of the century the Colégio Real das Artes had twenty-three professorial chairs, and, in 1597, the high point of its enrollment, somewhat over 2,500 students.

Reverting to 1542 and to Simon Rodrigues at Lisbon, we find him directing affairs of the Company from the old monastery of St. Anthony. All was not smooth sailing for the Master Simon. There was much correspondence with Ignatius, his general, since rules and customs of the Jesuits were in their formation period. Oppositions arose to the newcomers, "contradictions" as they are labeled, and criticisms from some of the clergy and citizens. Here and there the superior admitted one who became a disturber. Rumors of the austere practices in the college at Coimbra caught the alert ear of the Inquisition which sent an official to quiz the scholastics. Perhaps the greatest trouble was caused by overzealousness, which cropped up among some of the enthusiastic younger members in vigorous public preaching and private rigorous asceticism. In the absence of explicit regulations from Rome, this tendency ran counter to the general Ignatian principle of moderation and levelheadedness in all things, and ultimately by dividing opinion in the Portuguese communities brought Rodrigues and his cohort under suspicion. Nevertheless, despite troubles, the superior in Lisbon proved a notable founder, and, at the conclusion of a visitation of his jurisdiction in 1545, Fathers Peter Faber and Antonio de Araoz praised his administration highly.[34]

---

[32] Separate articles on Grã and other Jesuits, similar to that on Gouveia immediately following this article, will appear in MID-AMERICA in the near future.

[33] Rodrigues, *História,* II, II, 13-15, 171-249.

When Ignatius had weighed well the sundry conflicting reports from Portugal he called Rodrigues to Rome to aid him in directing the fast-growing Company. King John, who had attached Simon to the court as tutor to the prince, preacher, and adviser on the educational program, requested the General to rescind the order.[35] Loyola in deference to the wishes of the royal benefactor did so. And as a demonstration of confidence in the administration of his companion he named Rodrigues Provincial, the first of the Order to hold the post. The term of the new official began on October 10, 1546.

Rodrigues at thirty-six, although suffering from illness, built up his province, adding residences, colleges, and man-power to three hundred and eighteen members by 1552. He aided in the formation of the Province of Castile in 1547, by suggesting the step to Ignatius and by obtaining the recommendation of John III to Prince Philip of Spain for the establishment. In 1544 he had sent seven men headed by Diego Mirón from Coimbra for the new College of Valencia, the nucleus of the Province of Aragon established as such in 1552 with Rodrigues as first provincial. In fact, the first four key colleges of the Jesuits in Spain owed their beginnings to Simon and his men of Coimbra.[36] Moreover, Portugal was the mother of the Province of Goa, 1549, Brazil, 1553, and others after 1600.

---

[34] *Ibid.*, I, I, 389-390. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* XIII, 191, says: "Simon Rodriguez had proved himself inefficient in his position as provincial." No authority for this is cited, but the presumption is that Astrain is being used by Pastor, in view of the general statements following. Father Rodrigues's findings assuredly will have to be taken into account in future treatments of the work of Father Simon Rodrigues. What criticisms there are of the latter's administration are best put by Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* Madrid, 1902-1925, I, 239-244, 585-629.

[35] Rodrigues, *História,* I, I, 393.

Other colleges of his establishment contributed men and ideas to the American colonies. The College of San Antonio in Lisbon grew from the original six members in 1541 to a point where it opened as a public college in 1553 under kingly patronage with 330 students; in 1590 it had a dozen professors in the arts and nine instructors for 2,500 students. The College of the Holy Ghost in Evora started in 1551 as a seminary preparatory for theological students, but in 1553 it was opened to all with an attendance of 600. Becoming a privileged university in 1559 it gradually increased in enrollment by 1592 to 1,600 students ranging from primary instruction to theological, and had twenty-one chairs in arts and theology.

The influence of Simon Rodrigues as founder, organizer, legislator, and director cannot be overestimated. The results of his remarkable energy on the spiritual and intellectual progress of his nation were great. But Brazil as well as Portugal and the Society of Jesus owed much to him. It may or it may not have been more fortunate all around if the Portuguese king and Ignatius had granted him his wish to go with Xavier to the Indies. It will not be necessary here in the face of the positive work accomplished to discuss the dissention in the Province of Portugal nor the conflict of opinion between Ignatius and Rodrigues, since that story belongs primarily to the internal management of the Society. Out of such mistakes as may have been made the whole body drew profit. Suffice it to say that Father Rodrigues, removed from his office in 1552, manifested his strong religious character by accepting his cross of penance and illness. Much esteemed in Spain, he was allowed to return to Portugal six years before his death there in 1579.

JESUIT ORGANIZATION IN BRAZIL

The history of Brazil in the sixteenth century may be rudely divided into: (1) the era of the transients, 1500 to 1525, corresponding to what has been termed the "period of Portuguese disapproval";[37] (2) the era of desperate colonization, 1526-1549, otherwise known as a time of awakening interest; and (3) the era of organized colonization, 1549 to 1600. In the first period many boats from Europe came to Brazilian coasts, willingly and unwillingly, and looked reproachfully upon them; famed explorers, shipwrecked mariners, deserters, derelicts, casual woodcutters, jailbirds from Portugal, pirates from Dieppe, and the very few voluntary colonists, all wished soon to have done with the place. Squalid settlements of whites were few; spices, cities, pearls, and pepper, which were luring men elsewhere, were missing; cannibalism and lawlessness stalked the land. But, the obscure colony refused to be neglected. A great fear that the French and Spanish might establish footholds to their own profit or for preying upon the southbound Indian fleets coupled with the alarming thought that perhaps gold and wealthy kingdoms might lie within caused John to send out captains to stake the littoral. The colonization effort was one of desperation, coming at a time of low ebb in the crown finances and when suitable people could not be obtained for the enterprise. The scattered colonies planted during the era, each under separate captains, were in a perilous condition when the undertaking to bring unity and civilized life to Brazil was begun in 1549.[38]

---

[36] *Ibid.,* 404.

[37] Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America,* New York, 1933, 71-77.

The broad though thoroughly mingled motives behind the new attempt were defense against foreign intrusion, extension of Christianity, social stabilization and commercial exploitation. Suggestions toward a more efficient scheme of development came to John III from many advisers and from a survey of mistakes made during the period of haphazard colonization.[39] A glance about his kingdom for instruments suitable for carrying out the religious and political programs in a spirit of harmony with the crown and with themselves in the distant land revealed happy possibilities.

The king noted the progress in the Jesuit college at Coimbra, founded to develop missionaries. Simon Rodrigues had already offered to dispatch some to the colonies. In reality, the Jesuit provincial, considering any portion of the vast empire as a sphere for his religious activities, had in 1548 contemplated sending men to Brazil even without license of king or general, but he decided to follow forms by asking leave.[40] He sought permission of Ignatius to go with twelve men. Loyola granting the wish decided to substitute Father Santa Cruz in the provincialate of Portugal, but Santa Cruz died in October, whereupon the shift plan had to be dropped. However, the king granted permission to send men for three years[41] and Ignatius followed this with a blanket delegation of powers to Rodrigues for sending them to Ethiopia and Brazil.[42] In January 1549 Simon appointed Father Manuel da Nóbrega superior of a missionary band which included three other priests and two brothers later to be ordained.

---

[38] Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 142-203, describes the capitânias. See also Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos,* 40-60.

[39] *Ibid.,* I, 204.

[40] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana,* Series IV, Vol. I, 666-667. Leite, *História da Companhia,* has ample references to materials in the *Monumenta.*

For the unification of civil authority and for strong administration, Tomé de Souza stood out as most capable. He was highly recommended because of his military record, his loyalty, and governing ability, and he was cousin to Martim Afonso de Souza, the earlier captain of Brazil. Tomé was named Governor General of Brazil on January 7, 1549. He immediately prepared three ships and a brig to transport more than a thousand officials, soldiers, colonists, exiles, and Jesuits. The armada, which Nóbrega almost missed, sailed from Belem on February 1, 1549, and arrived at Bahia March 29. Strict military form was followed in the disembarkation, but the argonauts of the new order met welcome rather than assault. Work to establish the new capital of all Brazil promptly got under way.[43]

The story of the sixteenth-century organization of the Jesuits from this time, when they took up their abode in several rude shelters near a church in the land of Caramuru, falls into three general periods. The first, 1549-1570, saw a fine beginning of lasting social, religious, and cultural foundations under the able leadership of Nóbrega at Bahia in the north, at São Paulo in the south, and finally at Rio de Janeiro. There was official recognition of the Society by the crown as its most important partner in the task of social and moral uplift and the transmission of Lusitanian culture. Rome, too, recognized the importance of the country—the Pope by sending a new bishop, and Ignatius Loyola by changing it from a mission status to a province in 1553. Nóbrega, the Father Provincial from 1553 to 1559, was succeeded by Father Luiz da Grã, who completed his active term in 1565, though his official successor was not appointed until 1571. Inácio de Azevedo, *Visitador,* was in charge in 1566-1568. The period closed with a disastrous blow. Not only did Nóbrega die in 1570, but forty Jesuits led by Azevedo were martyred by pirates on their way to reinforce the province.

---

[41] *Monumenta Ignatiana,* Series I, Vol. II, 304, 307.

[42] *Ibid.,* 529.

[43] Calmon, *História,* I, 211-235; Leite, *História da Companhia,* I, 19-20.

The second period, 1571-1583, one of gradual progress and expansion, has for its luminary the saintly figure of Father José de Anchieta. "The apostle of Brazil" became provincial in 1577, following the incumbency of Father Inigo Tolosa (1572-1577), and officially did not go out of office until 1587. The period appears to lack notable directive leadership, probably because of the crystalization of customs, regulations, and methods then taking place throughout the Jesuit Order in the generalate of Claude Aquaviva. Again, the loss of the forty men in 1570 was followed by a loss of twelve more in 1571. Apparently, the corsairs were bent upon stopping religious progress in Brazil. But five other expeditions arrived safely, bringing in all forty-five missionaries, instructors, and professors.

The third period of organization, from 1583 to the end of the century and beyond, witnessed a reinvigoration and consolidation of Jesuit modes and effort under the outstanding direction of "the second founder of the Province of Brazil," Cristóvão de Gouveia, who sifted good procedures from poorer, applied the patterns of action adopted at Jesuit headquarters in Rome, drew together the threads of three decades of labor in Brazil, and formulated missionary and educational procedures which were to obtain from that time until the expulsion of the Company in 1759. His work is described in detail in the succeeding article.

If the sight of work to be done gave Nóbrega and his companions any joy in the past they may well have looked about them with supreme elation. To the eyes of spiritual men Brazil was a heaven-sent opportunity, even though ordinary folk would have considered it "a vale of tears." Like practical pioneers in any barbaric wilderness the newcomers saw looming a tremendous task of hewing, grubbing, clearing, and planting in the face of hostility from within and from without the Christian fold. The land was young and stubborn; its brawling, willful people were emotionally at the childhood stage, undomesticated in the ways of civilization. The task of clearing meant a rousing attack on cannibalism, paganism, and ignorance of the natives, and on adultery, promiscuity, injustice, and slavery practices of backsliding whites. The planting of the sprouts of civilization would consist of the drudgery of instruction and missionary work. Nóbrega could adopt methods used in Portugal for the whites, sermons and missionary excursions, while for cultivating the natives ingenuity would have to develop ways. The language, customs, susceptibilities, numbers, groupings, alliances, and respective intelligences of the jungle peoples would have to be learned before longer strides toward their elevation could be taken. And so it was done.

Headquarters for the Jesuits, some mud huts built with their own hands, were first established in the old village while foundations were being laid for the new capital of Brazil on the Bay of All Saints, now Salvador. Later in the year Nóbrega chose a site for the newer chapel-dormitory.[44] Other problems were met, an important one being the means of livelihood for the missionaries and support for the college.[45] The Portuguese were called to the church or plaza for sermons; groups of Indian and Negro slaves were visited; free natives were gathered for instruction in Christian precepts; smaller boys were taught catechism, singing, Mass prayers, and soon, reading and writing; journeys were made outside the rising city walls for purposes of organizing children of the forest into villages, or *aldeias*. How the system evolved around Bahia and spread elsewhere is too interesting a story to enter upon here in any cursory fashion. It will receive detailed treatment in a later paper.

The Jesuit center grew with the new civic center. The fathers and brothers before the end of 1549 had a class in elementary education for a few sons of colonists and natives. In the following year a "college" or hall for orphans was opened following a pattern set in Lisbon, who joined the other students. The need for buildings firmer than huts was laid before the king in 1551, and an official stonemason was applied to the task of hewing for five years. Latin classes were officially begun in 1553, and some of the new houses with tile roofs were ready in 1555. Word then came to the new governor, Duarte da Costa and to the bishop to establish a regular college. The Jesuit center, or house, heretofore under a superior, in 1556 had its first college rector, Ambrosio Pires. From this time forward it was a question of adding other grammar classes and humanities, and students. These at first were a dozen Indians, some Jesuits, boys sent in by missionaries from the backwoods, boys sent from outlying estates and coastal settlements, sons of colonists, and "nephews of Caramuru." Higher education began in 1572 with courses in logic, natural sciences, philosophy, and speculative theology, the last in 1578. The Colégio de Jesus da Baía in a substantial building was definitely the hub of Jesuit activities in northern Brazil, offering training to those who developed into teachers, missionaries, citizens, captains, officials, parish priests, writers, professors, and business men. Professors came to its halls from Europe and some went from its halls to European universities. It had a total enrollment of 215 in 1589, from elementary grades to theology, and, since it was the training school of the Jesuits, was ranked as the Colégio Máximo. It had a royal endowment and was privileged to grant degrees. By reason of its origin in 1549 and its two hundred years of enlightening influence it aided much in gaining for Bahia the honor of being "the cradle of Brazilian culture."[46]

---

[44] For the plan of Bahia cf. Leite, *História da Companhia,* I, 32.

[45] The king had assigned the Jesuits 2,400 reis per month for support; this was 600 reis per man, or one cruzado; the cruzado amounted to about $3.90; the sum was to be paid mostly in foodstuffs and small supplies; this amounts to about 13 cents a day for support. Cabral's salary for a year and a half was 5,000 cruzados, or 4,833 pounds sterling, or 9 cruzados per day. Values fluctuated greatly from 1500 to 1580. The Jesuits in reality were given 2,400 reis in *purchasing power* or in *collecting power;* they were to collect from officials or from estate owners' taxes. See Leite, *História,* I, 107-186, on the finances and means of subsistence of the Society.

Nóbrega during his three years of putting in a firm base at Bahia saw to expansion possibilities in the upper half of coastal Brazil. He made excursions from 1549 to 1552 to Ilhéus and Porto Seguro, respectively 150 and 250 miles south, where later residences and smaller colleges were established, and to Pernambuco, 500 miles north, where after his superiorship another endowed college was founded. Other fathers were sent 500 miles south of Salvador to Espírito Santo to practice ministries, begin *aldeias,* and teach grammar. Moreover, despite the fewness of his numbers, he sent Father Leonardo Nunes on a journey of over a thousand miles south to the land of the Paulistas, to begin work at the other extreme of the vast colony and thus to aid and abet the organization program of Sousa. This padre left for the captaincy of São Vicente on November 1, 1549, and put in at the bay of Todos os Santos some weeks later.

Father Nunes brought his school with him—ten or twelve small boys. He began to teach them in the village of São Vicente on an island in the bay. Large estates, *fazendas,* occupying the circumference of the bay furnished some other students. Beyond the bay were mountains and beyond the mountains were fertile valleys and plains. Into these Nunes scurried, gaining for himself the name of "the flying father" and the "first apostle of the

---

[46] These paragraphs are the gist of what Father Leite tells admirably, I, 47-104, with ample documentary citations. For information on the influence of this and other colleges see *Revista do Instituto Historico,* Primeiro Congresso de Historia Nacional, 1914, Primeira These Official, 635-673, "Qual a influencia dos jesuitas em nossas lettras?" by Dr. Eugenio Vilhena de Moraes.

State of São Paulo," while drawing other boys from the friendly Indian villages to the island for reading, writing, catechism, and possibly Latin. When Nóbrega arrived here in early 1553 to organize the second Jesuit center he was welcomed by eighty in the school including the few Jesuits. The school was officially inaugurated on February 2, 1553, as the Colégio dos Meninos.[47]

But this island village was not a nice place for the projected center of culture. Pirates were one danger, slave raiders another, and bad example in morals a third. Far better for his purpose was the country fifteen leagues away over the mountains, removed from scandal to convert Indians, fine for producing food, and excellent for missionary work. Consequently, a site was selected and Indians from several villages brought to it. At the end of the year other Jesuits arrived including young José de Anchieta, still in his studies. In the ships bringing him were the second Governor General, Duarte da Costa, and Father Luiz da Grã, and letters patent from Ignatius Loyola naming Nóbrega as provincial, and Brazil a province of the Company. The Jesuits gathered together for Mass in the new settlement beyond the mountains on January 25, 1554, feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and because of this they named it São Paulo de Piratininga. Thus Nóbrega laid the foundations of the great southern city of Brazil around the Jesuit Colégio de São Paulo.[48]

From this time forward the college building on the plain was the center of religious life, while around it were unified social and civil affairs of the vast land. Within the walls of the Jesuit grounds and buildings all classes of people found a haven in times of public distress, a hospital and clinic during epidemics, a bulwark in times of hostile raids, a gathering place on all festive occasions, and a theatre for pageants and dramas. All of the more widely known fathers, missionaries and teachers, spent some time here. Colonists thriving under its direction and protection supported the institution by gifts and alms. Men from its halls went to nearby villages and to other cities to aid in the cultural advance and to continue the moral and social regeneration of the south of Brazil and later in the north.

Still, Nóbrega was not satisfied with either São Vicente or São Paulo for his program of higher education. Both of these colégios were destined to become feeders to the College of Rio de Janeiro, which came into being in the following fashion. Nóbrega stopped at the beautiful bay in 1553 and beheld its possibilities. The French were there—Huguenots who might sally forth from their fort to attack Portuguese shipping, or might convert the natives to Protestantism. For these reasons and because of his desire to organize a city and *aldeias* around the harbor, he became the inspiration of the move toward complete control by the Portuguese.[49] First on a dangerous mission in 1553 he sought to establish an alliance between the Tamóios Indians around Rio and the Tupis around São Paulo. He gathered hundreds of Indians of both tribes in the Jesuit church of São Paulo to achieve this triumph. But in November 1555 Villegagnon built his strong Fort Coligny on an island close to the mouth of the harbor of Rio, thus dividing the colony of Brazil in two parts and winning over the numerous Tamóios. On this settlement the Portuguese with Tupi allies converged. In a great battle they scattered the Huguenot colony. The French attributed this defeat of 1560 to Nóbrega and his Jesuits.

---

[47] Leite, *História,* I, 254-255.

[48] *Ibid.,* I, 271, 277.

The Jesuit leader, relieved of his cares as provincial in 1559 by Luiz da Grã, urged the establishment of a firm colony. In 1565 this was done by Estácio da Sá, whose colonists and soldiers were augmented by Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Piratininga Indians. Two years later the final transfer of the settlement was made to Morro do Castelo. The petition of Nóbrega to found a central college here was granted in 1567 by the visitor, Ignatius Azevedo, who named the former provincial as first rector. Nóbrega then brought fathers from São Vicente and São Paulo for the work of organization of the *aldeias* and school. But the great founder died in 1570 without enjoying much the sight of the great fruits of the College of Rio. The Province of Brazil was well grounded in his time. After his incumbency as provincial there was gradual growth and spread to other cities and villages as Grã and Anchieta carried on. Still, an adjustment was taking place within the Society in Europe. How the efforts of the Jesuits in Brazil were brought into coordination with those of missionaries and educators elsewhere is told in the following paper.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

---

[49] *Ibid.*, I, 389. For the conquest and foundation of Rio de Janeiro see *ibid.*, 361-389, and the authorities cited therein.

Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil

In the year 1546, the Jesuit Francisco Estrada preached at Pôrto, and a young Portuguese nobleman, who was then thirty years of age, listened and was deeply impressed. This gentleman was Henrique Nunes de Gouveia, born in the Ilhas in the year 1516. He had married Beatriz Madureira, also of noble birth, in Pôrto. During his early years he had lived a life of leisure among the higher nobility, in an age when the ruling classes were wallowing in the wealth then pouring in from India. But like many other young men throughout Europe, he too had been watching with interest and admiration the activities of the newly organized Society of Jesus.[1] After hearing Father Estrada, he soon withdrew from politics, and from the great halls of feasting and sociability, and devoted his time and money to charity: the support of the Santa Casa de Misericordia, and the visiting of hospitals, the poor, and the infirm. He introduced his sons into the same religious atmosphere which gradually came to dominate his life, taking them with him on his many visits to charitable institutions. Indeed, when Father Estrada left Pôrto, Henrique Nunes virtually became the spiritual father of the place, and his home, formerly the center of society typical of sixteenth-century European noble frivolity, took on the appearance of a monastery, and some made fun of him for his intense religious enthusiasm. In his zeal he became a great benefactor of the Jesuits, donating to them his house and property in Pôrto, and making possible the beginning of the Jesuit college there. St. Francis Borgia was a guest at his home, for whom his young son Cristóvão de Gouveia often served at Mass in the family chapel. Henrique Nunes greatly influenced the lives of his three sons. His enthusiasm for the Society was transmitted also to his friends, and among others he is credited with bringing into the Society Inacio de Azevedo, the first Jesuit visitor to Brazil, and one of the forty martyrs of 1570. At the age of forty-five, having raised his family, two of his sons to be Jesuits, he himself desired to enter the Society. His wife and daughters, of equal piety, agreed in the plan that he enter the Society and they enter the Convent of Santa Clara. While obtaining permission from the Father General in Rome, Henrique Nunes fell ill and died, but only after his deathbed wish to be permitted to die a brother in the Society had been granted. In his will he left much of his property to the Jesuits.[2] In this religious atmosphere his sons were raised.[3]

---

[1] Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal,* Pôrto, 1931, Tomo I, Vol. I, 431-477, describes the rapid growth and influence of the Jesuits in Portugal from the outset.

Cristóvão de Gouveia was born in Pôrto, January 8, 1542.[4] At the age of fourteen, fulfilling the wishes of his father, he was accompanied by the latter to Coimbra, where he entered as a novice in the Society on January 10, 1556. Completing his studies at Coimbra and Evora, as master of novices at the latter institution he helped train some fifteen of the famous forty who were martyred at the hands of French pirates in 1570. Later he was rector of the College of Bragança. At the time the province was in dire financial straights, and there was talk of abandoning the college, a plan which would have been carried out had it not been for Gouveia's convincing arguments. With faith and hope in the future of the college, he not only won his point but was correct in his judgment. Here we catch the first glimpse of that administrative foresight which was to serve so well the Jesuit organization. Under similar circumstances he laid the first stone of the new building for the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon in 1579. Here, amid a mountain of difficulties and contradictory views, with almost unbelievable energy he saw the college through to success. Later he served as the companion to the father provincial of the Jesuit province of Portugal. While serving in this capacity he was chosen, at a most critical period in Lusitanian history, as the second visitor of the Society to the Brazilian mission, a vineyard already well cultivated for some three decades by Nóbrega, Anchieta, Grã, Azevedo, and their companions.

---

[2] Antonio Franco, S. J., *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* [1715], Pôrto, 1930, 153-155; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* Lisbon, 1938, II, 489-490.

[3] Cristóvão's younger brother João, generally known as João de Madureira, entered the Society at Coimbra, at the age of thirteen, on October 25, 1561. He became a famous preacher, and among his various duties he served as rector of the College of Santo Antão, and later rector of the house of São Roque. He spent much time instructing children, a work which gave him much more consolation than administrative tasks. Noted for his virtue and spirituality, yet in religious humility he scourged himself daily. He died off the coast of Biscay on October 5, 1601, while on his way to America as third Jesuit visitor to Brazil. Leite, II, 565-567; Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil,* introduction and notes by Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolfo Garcia, second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 328 (hereinafter cited as Cardim, *Tratados,* the direct reference being Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar,* contained therein, the pagination given according to this edition); *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, *Cartas . . . do Padre Joseph de Anchieta . . .*, edited by Antonio de Alcantara Machado, Rio de Janeiro, 1933, 406, hereinafter cited as *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III.

[4] Rodolfo Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados,* 327, giving the traditionally accepted date. Leite, II, 489, gives the date as January 3, 1537. Brief biographical sketches of his life may be found in Leite, II, 489-493; Franco, 153-155; Elisban de Guilhermy, S. J., *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jesus, Assisstance de Portugal,* Poitiers, 1867, I, 153-155; *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 405-406, note 527; Cardim, *Tratados,* 327-329, note 2; Rodrigues, *História,* I, I, 451-452.

Thus, after some twenty years of service in Portugal, during which time through administrative ability, sound judgment, charity, and stability of character, he had come to be a trusted adviser in important matters of the province, he was called upon to make smooth the transition of Jesuit activity in Brazil from Portuguese to Spanish political authority (in 1580 Portugal and her overseas dominions had been incorporated into the Spanish empire), and to put in order the affairs of Brazil, first child of Jesuit effort in America, in line with the more unified policy of the evolving and expanding Society of Jesus, now just in its forty-third year of existence. Gouveia had all the high qualities of heart and intelligence, above all a rare talent for organizing and governing. His vision was broad, his nature conciliatory and understanding, but in matters of principle he was unswerving. Lack of financial resources were to him no obstacle to pursuit of a noble purpose. Named visitor to Brazil by patent of July 23, 1582, Gouveia was soon to receive deservedly the title of "second founder of this mission."[5]

Let us digress for a moment, to describe briefly the office of *visitador,* or visitor, in the Jesuit administrative organization. Besides the ordinary resident superiors, special visitors were sent to the various provinces (or territorial units into which the organization is grouped) by the Father General whenever he considered an inspection necessary, or when the province requested one.

> The *visitador* had any authority of jurisdiction over the members of the province visited which the general saw fit to delegate. His duties as outlined were to urge the members to unity and to charity, to apostolic labors, and to observance of the Constitutions. He was to smooth difficulties; he was to confer with each subject, and finally was to submit an accurate report to the general concerning the condition of the province.[6]

Thus the office of visitor was an important one in the administrative scheme of the Society.

---

[5] Leite, II, 490-493; Franco, 81; Guilhermy, I, 154.

[6] Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain,* Berkeley, 1938, 14.

When the Jesuits first entered Brazil in 1549, the Constitutions of the Society were not yet definitely drawn up and promulgated. This was accomplished in 1556, year of the death of the founder Ignatius, and that year they reached Brazil. Up to that time the members of the Society were governed by instructions from Rome and Portugal. Since it was desirable to send to Brazil someone fully conversant with the laws, to put them into practice, Father Inacio de Azevedo had been sent by the Father General St. Francis Borgia, as first visitor of the province. Azevedo found Brazil in transition: as Father Francisco Pires wrote, "the time of tearful planting" was passing, and "the time of joyfully gathering the harvest" was at hand.[7] Rome and Lisbon were enthusiastic over the successful beginnings. Azevedo carried forward important work of reorganization, putting into operation the Constitutions and the rules and decrees of the first General Congregation. Returning to Portugal in 1568, he did not tarry long, and in 1570 was on his way back to Brazil with thirty-nine companions, only to die with them in the mass martyrdom at the hands of pirates. Between 1566 and the appointment of Gouveia as second visitor in 1582, the overseas missionary activity of the Jesuits had expanded considerably, two general congregations of the Society had met, new orders and regulations in line with experiences and general policies had evolved. The expansion of Jesuit activity in the New World was one of the highlights of Aquaviva's administration as Father General of the Society. In this connection, the brilliant success of the Jesuits in their pioneer work in Africa, India, and Brazil undoubtedly influenced Philip II to open to the militant missionary order the vast dominions of Spanish America: first in Florida, then in Mexico and Peru, and in Aquaviva's time in Paraguay, New Granada, and the Philippines. And despite the fact that Portugal and her empire were now subject to Philip II and his royal patronage, and Spain and her traditional overseas dominions were the favored sections of the empire, the general Spanish policy of reserving Spanish colonies for the Spaniards and Portuguese colonies for the Portuguese, left undisturbed the normal development of Brazil, and the continued successful social, cultural, and religious efforts of the Jesuits there. From the point of view of the Jesuits, the period of the political unity of Hispanic America under Philip II offered more advantages than obstacles to their work. Able direction of the vast and growing Jesuit missionary enterprise in America was essential for continued success, and Jesuit overseas missionary activity was only now passing from the stage of preliminary experimentation to more or less fixed policy in matters of detail peculiar to place and circumstances.

---

[7] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* II, *Cartas Avulsas, 1550-1568,* edited by Afrânio Peixoto, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 17. Hereinafter cited as *Cartas Jesuíticas,* II.

Before Visitor Gouveia set out for Brazil, Aquaviva gave him special instructions, the *Instrucción Particular* . . ., outlining the dual purpose of his mission: first, the consolation and encouragement of the members working in the sterile, and dangerous Brazilian vineyard; second, to inspect religious discipline in the province in order to assure strict obedience to the Institute, the Constitutions, the rules and regulations emanating from Rome, and to correct and better existing conditions where necessary. Aquaviva pointed out that from Brazilian reports Anchieta, the Jesuit provincial, and others were irregular in their observance of the Constitutions. Among other things, in giving medical assistance to his Indian charges, Anchieta, with excessive charity, frequently, to be sure, had gone beyond the conventional limits of the Jesuit in the rôle of amateur doctor. The Instructions touched on all important Jesuit activities, realistically aimed at making the visitation as useful as possible.[8]

Gouveia and his companions (Fathers Fernão Cardim, historian of the visitation, and Rodrigo de Freitas, Brother Barnabé Tello, and the novice Martim Vaz) left Lisbon on March 5, 1583, on the same ship that was carrying the new governor general of Brazil, Manuel Teles Barreto, first appointee under the new Spanish regime. Events of the voyage across the Atlantic are recorded in Cardim's now classic *Narrativa Epistolar,* a sort of diary of the visitation. Arriving at Bahia on May 9, without any untoward incident, Gouveia immediately turned his attention to the enormous task before him.[9] In the course of the next five years he was to visit every Jesuit residence in the far-flung province. During that time he was the highest Jesuit superior in the province, his instructions and regulations carrying the full authority of his office, subject only to the final decision of higher authorities of the Society in Rome. Tirelessly observing, consulting, counseling, instructing and regulating, the work of reorganizing the sprawling mission—grown to vast proportions since Nóbrega's day—was carried forward with brilliant success. Gouveia's reforms and legislation touched on every aspect of

---

[8] Leite, II, 490.

[9] Cardim, *Tratados,* 250, 252.

Jesuit activity: matters pertaining to the observance of rules, the internal regime of the Society, the administering of the sacraments, economic support, education in the colleges, religious instruction, the Indian *aldeias,* the missions, Indian slavery, relations between Church and state, general social, ethical, and religious matters, construction, the advancement of science, letters, and the arts, and missionary expansion.

Prior to the 1580's, as we have seen, only one Jesuit visitor had been sent to Brazil, Father Azevedo in 1566, the year following the second General Congregation of the Society. One of the primary motives for sending the second visitor, Gouveia, was to see that the Institute and the Constitutions were being carried out and were fully understood. Little by little they were explained and interpreted among the members of the Society in Brazil. Besides, there are in each Jesuit province a number of practices and usages determined by circumstances of place and conditions. These regional usages, legitimately introduced and approved by superiors, were an evolutionary development, and they underwent considerable modification in the course of time. The rules and instructions drawn up by Gouveia during his visitation henceforth came to constitute the general usage of the province. They were further modified in the early eighteenth century, but remained essentially the same until the Suppression.[10]

Local rules for the internal regime of the Society were carefully drawn up in the greatest detail by the second visitor.[11] Those regulating the daily order in each Jesuit community were re-examined and revised, and their strict observance re-emphasized. Among Gouveia's instructions was one to promote prayer among the members, and to see to it that idleness was completely absent. Not the slightest detail in the daily life of the members was overlooked. For example, in Brazil it was not uncommon to go barefoot, because of the climate, regardless of social class. The saintly Anchieta, clad in his tattered cassock, scarcely ever wore protection for his feet on his many and arduous journeys. Gouveia recommended that the members of the Society should never go without shoes, "because it is dangerous to the health." It was the duty of the provincial to visit each residence of the province annually, but since this was virtually impossible in extensive Brazil, the Father General said that it could be done every two years, and another member could be delegated to make the visitation the year between. Gouveia introduced this new rule, and determined that when the provincial did not visit the captaincies this should be done by the rector of the college at Rio de Janeiro for the south, and by the rector at Bahia in respect to Ilheus and Porto Seguro under similar circumstances.

---

[10] Leite, II, 416-418.

[11] *Ibid.,* II, 398-423.

Despite his many illnesses, now more frequent in his later years, Anchieta accompanied Gouveia on nearly all of the visitation of the various residences and *aldeia* establishments of the province, not doing so only when severe illness prevented. It was purely in a spirit of charity that Gouveia spoke of Anchieta's illnesses as an obstacle to the efficient carrying out of his administrative duties as provincial.

A keen judge of men, and full of human understanding and common sense, Gouveia settled many minor personal matters among members of the Society to the consolation and satisfaction of all concerned. Father Vicente Rodrigues, a most successful missionary who, ill, wished to return to Portugal in 1585, was persuaded to remain, and was to labor fifteen more years in the Brazilian vineyard until his death in Rio. There was the delicate matter of avoiding possible national ill-feeling between some of the members of Spanish and Portuguese blood, due to the political vicissitudes involved in the loss of Portugal's independent sovereignty in 1580, as well as other personal matters. Father Luiz da Fonseca was criticized for being too rigid and austere, both within the order (having whipped a brother with a wet whip for punishment), and in his dealings with the civil authorities (having brought about unnecessary friction with the corrupt Governor Teles Barreto). Again, undoubtedly speaking shrewdly and yet betraying a certain continental air, Gouveia remarked that it was characteristic of those raised in Brazil to let errors and imperfections go too far, and not to look sufficiently far into the future.[12]

Among the important domestic problems of the Jesuits was that of economic support. The Portuguese Crown always enthusiastically supported Jesuit activities, and royal funds were officially set aside for their financial assistance in Brazil. But local authorities were neither efficient nor honest in carrying out royal wishes. Although the Crown assumed the duty of helping to support the work of the Jesuits, never did the latter receive an endowment sufficient to guarantee the success of their work;

---

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 67; II, 403, 404-412, 422, 458, 482; *id.*, *Páginas de História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1937, 140-141.

indeed, in order to avoid excessive indebtedness, they were forced to seek other means of support. Gouveia had special instructions to attempt to improve this vexing situation. The first problem was the disproportion between income and expenditures. By royal stipulation, each father and brother of the Society in Brazil received 20,000 réis annually. Double that amount would have been insufficient to finance the multiplicity of Jesuit activities in education, evangelization of the Indians, and social and moral uplift. Besides the one hundred and thirty Jesuits in Brazil who received support from the Crown to the extent given above (Bahia—60, Rio—50, Pernambuco—20), there were now ten more on *aldeias* in the interior, teaching and catechizing the Indians. The king had been notified of the Jesuits residing at *aldeias,* and on November 30, 1582, he had ordered that the ten be given the same financial assistance as the others "for one year," until further data from Brazil should necessitate modification of the order.[13]

In his effort to place the Brazilian mission on a more stable economic basis, Gouveia had to work almost singlehanded, for he received no cooperation from Governor Teles Barreto and Bishop D. Antonio Barreiros. The reports they sent back to the king were unfavorable. Under these difficult conditions Gouveia took the matter in hand. He made a study of the resources of the land, potential income, and the exact character and extent of royal support. He knew from experience the abuses of local treasury officials and he hoped to remedy the situation. The results of his careful and profound study constitute a remarkable document. It gives a clear picture of colonial bureaucracy at work, with local officials using their posts primarily for personal gain, at the expense of the central government and the missionaries.

Gouveia's report is divided into four parts.[14] First, he wrote, the endowments or rents of the colleges of Bahia and Rio, in the manner in which they were collected, were not in conformity with the Constitutions of the Society, for they assumed the character of stipends for religious services rendered. He set forth three reasons to show that the royal grants to the colleges were made purely in the sense of salary payment: the king was giving financial assistance to the Jesuits as an act of conscience, since, in taking the tithe from the land it was incumbent upon him to further the conversion of the Indians, as many royal decrees stipulated; just as he paid salaries to the secular hierarchy to fulfill his obligation and to further the spiritual needs of the Portuguese, so in the same spirit he ordered the Jesuits paid for the conversion of the natives and the establishment of Indian parishes, to the extent of 20,000 réis for each of sixty religious at Bahia and fifty at Rio, and requested an annual report on the number of Jesuits at each college in order to determine how much to pay them; Christian Indians living on Jesuit *aldeias* were obliged to pay the tithe, and when the Jesuits protested that the Indians should not pay tithes since they supported the *aldeia* establishments, the king had answered that he had the right to collect them since he had provided ministers for them (namely, the Jesuits). Gouveia pointed out that this was the common view held in Brazil, and the contention was that the Jesuits were in duty bound to live on the *aldeias* throughout the captaincies, for which they were well paid by the king; none of this, Gouveia indicated, was in conformity with the Institute of the Society; lastly, the king had recently sent a letter to the Bishop requesting him to report the number of Jesuits in Brazil, and whether they needed more or less men and rents.

---

[13] Leite, I, 118-119.

[14] *Ibid.;* "O que pareceu ao Padre Cristóvão de Gouveia, Visitador da Provincia do Brasil, que se deve propor a Nosso Padre acêrca das fundações do colégio da Baia e Rio de Janeiro . . .," *Brasilia,* II, 330-331, Archivum Societatis Iesu Romanum (ASJR), Rome, published in Leite, I, 119-125.

In the second part of his report, Gouveia insisted that the Society received inadequate financial aid in Brazil: the royal support received was scarcely sufficient to run the colleges; extensive property had been destroyed by French pirates; the members of the Society were obliged to till their land and raise livestock for subsistence; much more than the 20,000 réis per member was needed, for when the king set this figure the revenues from Brazil were small, whereas now they were large and living costs had doubled and even tripled, hence under existing conditions the members of the Society lacked many essentials even of food and clothing.

The third point the Visitor discussed was that of the problems involved in attempting actually to obtain from the local authorities what funds were granted by the Crown. He recommended that the method of making such payment should be changed. As it was, the governor or *provedor-mor* ordered the treasurer to pay the Jesuits the sum stipulated by royal decree, then began the delicate feat, accompanied by abuse and difficulties, of attempting to obtain these officially authorized collections. A number of abuses were listed which the Visitor felt should be corrected. He showed how when the time came to collect the royal support authorized, the Jesuits delegated to perform the task were sent from one official to another, receiving alibis and delays, sometimes succeeding in obtaining the funds in small installments, at other times being insulted and sent off empty-handed. Gouveia gave two explanations for this state of affairs: the unfriendliness of the local officials because the Jesuits tried to protect the Indians from enslavement and abuse, which was an obstacle to profits from slave labor, and secondly, their primary aim to accumulate as much wealth as possible for themselves while in office. Under these circumstances the Jesuits could never count on the Crown rents, and were forced to buy on credit and thereby pay double. When by chance payment was prompt, it was usually in goods the local authorities wished to get rid of, and of which the Jesuits had no need. The College of Bahia was already 4,000 *cruzados* in debt because of delays in payments. All this, said Gouveia, had a bad moral effect, and was the cause of public scandal, for in view of the constant quibbling with the governor over these matters, the people, led to follow the viewpoint of the officials, were given the impression that the Jesuits were interested only in living well and afraid to lose a few cents.

To avoid to some extent these various inconveniences, Gouveia offered to Father General Aquaviva the following six suggestions: (1) the king should order his rent collectors in Brazil to pay the Jesuits the rents due them by official decree, and the Jesuit *conservador* or the royal *ouvidor* should have authority to compel payment, (2) the king should grant to the Society rentals from monasteries in Portugal to the extent of 5,500 *cruzados,* the endowment of the colleges of Bahia and Rio, to avoid the vicissitudes and misunderstandings in Brazil, (3) the king should permit that the two colleges of Bahia and Rio be paid in sugar as in the case of Pernambuco, without interference of local officials, (4) the royal treasury pay in Portugal the sums past due owed to the colleges in Brazil, (5) royal provision should be made to permit the Jesuit *conservador* in Brazil to introduce proceedings against the local treasury official when the latter refused to pay promptly, and lastly, (6) the *redizima* of the rents of the land endowed by the Crown to the Jesuit college of Bahia should be granted without limitations, since having been granted completely, it was later limited to the extent that the Society could collect on it only to the amount of 3,000 *cruzados,* even though general economic changes had brought higher living costs since the time the grant was made; the 20,000 réis per religious had much less value now than when originally granted. Gouveia added that if the king were willing to grant any of these requests, it should be stipulated that the rents, in the form of goods, be set aside from the royal rents and applied in perpetuity to the church, and collected directly by the Society from the producers concerned without interference by local royal officials, as in the case of the *redizima* of the captaincies.

The Visitor sent letters to his superiors in Portugal and Rome supporting the minute financial report outlined above. At the same time he decided to admit no one into the Society in Brazil who did not exceptionally satisfy every requirement, this in order to avoid further indebtedness, for the Society in Brazil could not afford to support new candidates unrestrictedly. Strict orders were drawn up to assure economy in food eaten in the various Jesuit communities. The Visitor's reforms and proposals were agreed upon at the Provincial Congregation held in Bahia in 1583, and sent to the Father General, who would bring these matters to the attention of the king. But all was in vain, for Governor Teles Barreto at Bahia, and Gabriel Soares at the Spanish court, were unfriendly.[15] This uncooperative attitude of lesser royal officials diminished considerably with the death of Teles Barreto in 1587. His successor in office carried instructions from King Philip II urging full financial support of those engaged in the conversion of the heathen, "with special respect in this matter for the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who inaugurated this work in which they have been so long engaged . . . and for their support you shall pay them well from my annual income in accord with my orders."[16]

In the course of events there was to be no satisfactory solution of the problem until the following century, when finally, in 1604, in pursuing the claims first introduced by Gouveia in 1583-1584, definite orders were issued by the king assuring the payment of current and past financial obligations due the Society in Brazil. It was decided to make payment from the *redizimas* from sugar. The nineteenth-century Brazilian historian Varnhagen, expressing the viewpoint of the era in which he wrote, refers to these orders as "scandalous." Equally authoritative

---

[15] Leite, I, 125.
[16] *Ibid.,* I, 126.

Brazilian historians of more recent date, such as Capistrano de Abreu, take a different view. Objectively considered, the matter does not in reality lend itself to subjective controversy. The fact is that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and Portugal protection and support of missionary work were a recognized part of government policy. The Pope had confided to the kings of Spain and Portugal the duty of converting pagans in their overseas conquests. Portugal and Spain had officially assumed the vicariate of evangelizing their colonies. The Portuguese Crown, and Spain from 1580 to 1640, were fostering Jesuit missionary activity in order to further this enterprise of instruction, conversion, civilization, and defense of the Indians of Brazil, and officially designated an endowment to support them. Under these conditions, then, there is no basis for subjective controversy as to whether or not the Jesuits had a right to collect funds officially authorized by the Crown. Furthermore, it seems only fair to keep in mind that this royal aid helped support not only the Jesuit college and *aldeia* establishments of Brazil, some of the latter in barren outlying areas throughout the captaincies, but by the end of the century even missionary activity outside Brazil that was difficult to support, "such as Angola."[17]

Since the affairs of the college at Rio were handled in great part from the capital, Gouveia ordered in 1589 that at Bahia there should be "a priest of prudence and authority, named by the provincial, to handle the affairs of the college of Rio de Janeiro and exact payments due."[18] The Visitor pointed out the advisability of stationing in Lisbon a father and a brother for Brazil, which office, however, did not come into being until the beginning of the seventeenth century.[19]

The fact remains that in the sixteenth century the attitude of local royal functionaries, bent on using their positions to build up a private fortune, made the payment of rents granted by the Crown to the Society an uncertain game of chance. The Jesuits were forced to seek other means of support. Lands donated by friends, or purchased for the purpose, provided a certain amount of tillage and pasture. Fruits and vegetables were raised in the gardens of all the Jesuit residences and from all reports they grew magnificently in Brazilian climes. Gouveia, his companion Cardim, and other early Jesuit writers, also frequently refer to cattle, livestock, chickens, ducks, and swine raised on their lands and on the *aldeias* under their care. It was a policy of self-support introduced by Nóbrega. He had purchased twelve young heifers in 1552; by the 1580's "Nóbrega's cows" had multiplied to the extent that none had to be purchased, and in 1589 Gouveia gave orders that five hundred cows on the hoof should always be maintained.[20]

---

[17] *Ibid.,* I, 129.
[18] *Ibid.,* I, 116, note 6.
[19] *Ibid.,* I, 135, 142.

Finally, there was the question of the boat. The economic problems connected with the maintenance of a Jesuit ship were unique to the Brazilian mission. Regular communications in Brazil, composed of a long thin line of Atlantic seaboard settlements, were by water. With the exception of São Paulo, all missionary activity, as well as the spread of agriculture and cattle raising, radiated into the interior from coastal centers, and even São Paulo was dependent on the port of São Vicente or Santos. The provincial, to visit canonically the various Jesuit establishments, had to go by sea. Nóbrega and Grã made their first provincial visitations on royal armadas, but this involved irregularity because of dependence upon the schedule of the ships. In 1575 King Sebastião ordered the governors of the captaincies of Brazil to provide boat transportation to the provincial triennially, and later decided that the royal treasury pay for these trips, the sum being fixed by the king at 80,000 réis every three years. Visitor Gouveia reported in 1583 that this sum was inadequate. The king in 1589 increased the triennial royal grant to 100,000 réis.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits decided that it would be more practical to have their own boat, to be built at their own expense and maintained by the royal grant. To pay initial costs passengers were accepted. The plan did not receive the unanimous approval of the members, and the Father General ordered Anchieta, then provincial, to sell the boat, stating that the method of its maintenance took on the undesirable character of engaging in commerce. It was one of Gouveia's duties to settle this problem. After consultation and investigation he decided that the ship should not be sold, and issued orders with regard to its use and maintenance. No women passengers should be accepted; ship supplies should be provided at the cost of the college to be visited, and maintained by that college while at anchor there; only the salaries of the crew and the costs of general maintenance of the ship should be paid by the province, which was to get the revenue from passengers and freight carried, and when this was insufficient, the balance should be paid *pro rata* at the end of each year by the three Jesuit colleges at the ratio of 60 (Bahia), 50 (Rio), 20 (Pernambuco); each college should also provide, on the same *pro rata* basis, the slaves necessary for service on the boat. In 1592 the Jesuits added a second boat against emergency. And English pirates took one that year. Toward the end of the century Father Beliarte, when provincial, sold the other and had a lighter and smaller vessel made, with six oars on each side, capable of escaping swiftly when attacked by pirates.[21]

---

[20] *Ibid.,* I, 174, 177. See also *ibid.,* I, 139-140. On July 25, 1583, Gouveia wrote that charges had been preferred against the Jesuits for utilizing land that did not belong to them at Camamu, one of the most important properties of the College of Bahia. The Visitor found that these complaints were justified, for the boundaries were not marked, and as he had a license from the king to fix the boundary he did so to the satisfaction of the claimants. *Ibid.,* I, 155-156.

In short, through Gouveia's efforts the economic basis of Jesuit activities in Brazil was greatly improved. Orders were issued to cope with the existing problems in the most satisfactory manner possible, and financial records were drawn up which are now of inestimable value to students of Brazilian Jesuit history and colonial economy.

Gouveia's reforms in education and instruction reveal many sidelights on college life in sixteenth-century Brazil. In 1586 he recommended that superiors of the colleges should insist on regular attendance by members of the Society, both teachers and students, at public classes, and that activities which took too much time from studies should be carefully regulated. Plays given out of class, *Coplas* in Portuguese composed at the schools, student processions, and the use of fireworks at celebrations should be permitted only with special authorization of the provincial. All these extracurricular activities were not suppressed, but were checked to the extent of maintaining more orderly study without too many distractions from the desired cultivation of letters and Latin. Gouveia noted in Bahia that some of the brothers were busy with matters foreign to study, and thus lost interest in their class work. Efforts were made to correct this abuse. As good observers, the fathers explained this situation by the exotic tropical surroundings, so conducive to laziness and indolence, which was the reason also for the predilection of those born in Brazil for festivities, singing, and playing. Occasionally guests from the city were received at the Jesuit villa outside Bahia, but to avoid distraction on the part of the students, during the holidays the only guests permitted were the governor general, the bishop, and a few special friends and benefactors. Gouveia had many building improvements made, making it a beautiful place of recreation. This was the Quinta do Tanque, later made famous by Father Antonio Vieira, who spent his last years there.[22]

---

[21] Leite, I, 169-171.

The daily schedule for classes in the colleges were slightly modified by Gouveia. From the beginning classes took up two hours in the morning and two more in the afternoon. He urged anew the two and a half hour periods, leaving in 1586 orders that in classes of Latin, writing, and the arts, the longer periods devoted to class work should be introduced, classes to begin at seven o'clock in the summer, and eight o'clock in the winter. In 1586 the arrival of the first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* was announced in Brazil. Meanwhile, the Visitor reorganized the courses in theology in the colleges for members of the Society, dividing the courses into moral and speculative, based on St. Thomas Aquinas. With regard to the studies in cases of conscience, which always existed in the Jesuit houses of Brazil, Gouveia ordered in 1586 such conferences held at each college two or three times a week. Measures were taken to maintain college studies at a high standard. When Gouveia arrived in Brazil there were six professors of theology, arts, and humanities at the colleges. These were trained in Portugal, but from his time forward greater dependence was placed on those trained in Brazil for teaching the more elementary classes. At the close of the sixteenth century there was a respectable faculty of twelve professors in the three key colleges of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Pernambuco, some of them alumni, and all capable of teaching theology, arts, and humanities in any respectable university of Europe or America.[23]

The externs enrolled in the Jesuit colleges, that is, the outside students as distinct from the student members of the Society, were drawn principally from the population of the cities in which the three colleges were located. Interns resided at the colleges of Bahia and Rio, pursuing a policy successfully inaugurated at Goa, in India, but there were no such facilities in Pernambuco. In order to extend educational facilities to the sons of Portuguese who lived in the extensive rural settlements around Pernambuco, Gouveia proposed to the Father General the erection of a college or seminary there. The Father General was favorable and requested further data, but the idea was ahead of the times in Brazil's cultural process, and got no hope of cooperation from Governor Teles Barreto.[24]

---

[22] *Ibid.,* I, 73, 83, 96.
[23] *Ibid.,* I, 74-75, 77, 87-88.

Gouveia inaugurated some modifications with regard to the important work of Indian conversion and the regime of the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Egocentric cynics and confirmed slavers were never lacking who claimed that it was impossible to catechize and elevate the Indians of Brazil. The Jesuits, on the contrary, believed that slow progress meant only that greater efforts must be exerted. The *aldeias* were similar to what are generally referred to in other parts of colonial Hispanic America as Indian missions. In the *aldeia* schools the Indian children were taught reading and writing in Portuguese, arithmetic, and singing. In 1586 Gouveia made the general regulation that these classes be held morning and evening, each class lasting one hour and a half. He further ordered that on no occasion should the children be punished by the teacher's own hand.[25] Gouveia was impressed by the dramatic qualities of the Indians, whom he compared to the Romans in their respect for eloquence in speech.

In order to settle some of the questions raised in the course of Gouveia's visitation, Governor Teles Barreto called a Junta in December 1583 to discuss the matter of *aldeia* jurisdiction—an august gathering attended by himself, the bishop, the *provedor-mor,* and the Jesuits Gouveia, Anchieta, and Fonseca—and an accord was drawn up. In actual practice the Jesuits exercised both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction on the *aldeias* under their charge; when the civil authorities were friendly to the Society no specific juridical rights were required, otherwise there were diverse interpretations and conflict. To avoid the latter, which was showing its head in the unfriendly regime of Teles Barreto, Gouveia intervened energetically. He insisted that either the king should issue an express order fixing the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, or the Society would find it necessary to abandon the *aldeias* if it had to wait on the "special favor of the governor and the courts." Royal support of the Visitor's stand was slow in coming, but it came. In turn, in the accord of 1583 the Jesuits agreed not to harbor fugitive Indian slaves on their *aldeias*. Three years later the Visitor established this as law in instructions to the missionaries, stating that Indian fugitives must be returned to their masters. This rule was maintained inviolate until 1592.

---

[24] *Ibid.,* I, 82; II, 514.

[25] *Ibid.,* II, 10, 26.

Gouveia further recommended in 1589 that no Jesuit should interfere in affairs of justice already settled by the civil authorities, except to promote peace. Despite this latter recommendation, the Indians usually sought the assistance of the Jesuits when delinquent, in order to obtain their intervention for leniency.[26]

With regard to the use of Indians from the Jesuit *aldeias* by the Portuguese for menial work, there was much abuse. Following Gouveia's visitation, these Indians were permitted to work for whomever they pleased, Jesuits or Portuguese settlers, but for specified periods only, and for wages. Thus a basic work contract was required. Here was a definite social gain. The Visitor specifically ordered that *aldeia* Indians could not be loaned out to work for colonists for more than three successive months, nor should such Indians be permitted to take their wives with them. For defense of the Indians the Visitor even requested that the Father General obtain from the Pope the right to excommunicate those who went to the *aldeias* to disturb the natives and inveigle them into enslavement; however, this last plan was impossible to carry out.[27]

Hospitality toward friends was an outstanding characteristic of the Indians of Brazil, and their attachment to the Jesuit fathers was genuine. Gouveia was charmed by their friendliness, natural fondness for music, and dramatic festivities. Among his instructions of 1586 was one urging the teaching of singing after regular school hours to the Indian children with ability for it, and by those most able to give such instruction. There were several Jesuit instructors who were famous in this regard. In financial support of the *aldeias,* the newly converted Indians paid *diezmos,* but not to the royal treasury, for these taxes did not leave Brazil. Rather they were used for the support of the churches, confraternities, and other religious activities of the *aldeia* Indians. A royal decree of January 4, 1576, established this practice for six years. After the expiration of the law, Gouveia had it renewed for fifteen more years by royal decree of August 21, 1587.[28]

Instructions with regard to the baptism of the Indians were, as in other cases, the codification of precedent. The mass baptisms performed at the first *aldeias* did not bring favorable results; and seeing that the prelates and synods in America strictly prohibited the baptism of an Indian or Negro without prior instruction, since otherwise they became Christians in name only, Gouveia left in 1589 an order definitely regulating such baptisms. No priest could baptize an adult Guinea Negro or Indian except in extreme necessity if the person in question did not know at least the rudiments of the prayers, have a good knowledge of what he should believe and how he should behave, and have the intention of receiving a Christian marriage. This also was the rule of the fathers on their missions to the slave settlements on farms and plantations; later the rules were adopted by the Capuchins in Maranão, although not so rigorously. What was considered essential religious instructions prior to baptism? This, Gouveia ordered: those who have the capacity, before being baptized should be taught God the Creator, and the mysteries of Redemption, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, God's rewards, and the meaning of baptism and the other sacraments of the Church must be explained to them.[29]

---

[26] *Ibid.,* II, 66, 75, 78.

[27] *Ibid.,* II, 83-94. The royal decree of July 26, 1596, on Indian freedom, ordered the strict observance of the free worker contract in regard to Indians hired from Jesuit *aldeias,* specifying essentially the same terms as described above. The text of this decree is printed in Leite, II, 623-624.

[28] *Ibid.,* II, 89, 95, 109.

Gouveia, who himself heard the confessions of natives through an interpreter, left a rule in 1586 that Jesuits should not serve as interpreters in the confessional except when absolutely necessary, and in all cases interpreters should be persons of complete confidence. This practice of the Jesuits, confession through interpreter, was permitted by the Church, and is today, according to Canons 903 and 889 of the 1918 *Codex Juris Canonici;* the interpreter like the confessor was bound absolutely by the seal of confession and could not disclose directly or indirectly anything said in the confessional. Although the native Indians wore no clothing in their native state, a certain degree of modesty in the Christian sense was required on the Jesuit *aldeias,* and so in the matter of approaching the confessional the Visitor ruled that the natives must on such occasions be decently dressed.

In training the Jesuit novices at the colleges some were especially prepared for missionary work among the natives, others for duties at the colleges, depending upon their particular talents, but because of the importance attached to the missionary work among the natives, special emphasis was always placed on learning the native language. A class in the Tupi Indian tongue was inaugurated at the College of Bahia in 1556, and was required of all Jesuits by order of 1560. Gouveia left a rule in 1586 that Latin students at the colleges should devote Sundays to learning the Tupi language, the *lingua geral* of Brazil. In 1587 a class in the native language was being conducted at Pernambuco. No Jesuit could be advanced to higher studies or ordained without first learning the native tongue, unless it were utterly impossible to do. But in 1584 several were ordained who were weak in Latin but masters of the native language.[30]

---

[29] *Ibid.,* II, 278-279.

Besides training their own and outside students in their colleges, and lifting the native Indians from their benighted Stone Age culture on the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments, the Jesuits were engaged in innumerable related fields. Among the general works of uplift, of special social benefit were the missions, "revivals," in the outlying areas, first around Bahia, then, after *aldeias* were founded there, on the surrounding plantations and farms, primarily for the benefit of Indians and Negroes, but the white residents also profited by them. Gouveia personally gave this important ministry a great impetus. In the vicinity of Pernambuco, with its many sugar plantations, fifteen to twenty per cent of the Guinea slaves were offered no other opportunity for religious assistance. Around Bahia and Pernambuco alone in the year 1584-1585, over 3,000 were baptized and taught Christian doctrine, and scores accepted Christian marriage. Cardim, who accompanied Gouveia, describes fully in his famous *Narrativa Epistolar* these visits and their resulting moral uplift and spiritual consolation. This type of mission is an eloquent example of the Jesuits' concern for the moral and spiritual betterment of the humble Negro and Indian plantation and sugar mill workers, who produced by their sweat and toil much of the wealth of sixteenth-century Brazil but received little or no material reward.

Gouveia in 1586 drew up the following rules regulating such Jesuit missions, a document of primary significance in the social history of colonial Brazil: (1) There should be always at each college at least one priest, appointed by the provincial, to visit with a companion the surrounding *engenhos* and *fazendas* at least once a year, even if not called; both should know the native language, and one should be an able preacher; the primary aim of the missions or visits should be understood as being a means of helping the Indian and Guinea slaves. (2) Upon arrival at a *fazenda* a list should be made of all the Negro and Indian slaves, designating those not baptized nor married; Mass should be celebrated for the Negro slaves and Indians, and instruction in Christian doctrine before they scattered for the day's work; where possible the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary should be established, with the obligation of its members to say the beads on all holydays and gather at specified times for prayer and instruction in Christian doctrine. (3) During the time of the mission, the Indians and Guinea Negroes should be taught doctrine every day in the evening or at meal time, whichever preferred, always using the latest approved catechism. (4) The two Jesuit companions conducting the mission should act in full cooperation and never separate for any great length of time. (5) They should ask for those seriously ill, ministering to their spiritual needs, baptizing those in extreme danger, and urging the landowners not to permit any of their laborers to die unbaptized; adults must not be baptized without assurances that they would not thereupon flee to the woods—this to avoid certain complaints of slave owners—and adult slaves should be united in Christian marriage when possible. (6) They must not marry any Portuguese without special permission of pastors or their superior, nor Negroes if insufficiently instructed or should impediments stand in the way; *aldeia* Indians must not be married on Portuguese property, nor Indians of different masters, and rarely *fôrros* to slaves; the names of all those baptized and married should be recorded, and the record books placed in the colleges for reference. (7) Those conducting the missions must have with them at all times the above regulations, and those concerning baptism, marriage, and the evangelization of the slaves, and must conform with them to the letter; the number of confessions, and other events of edification, should be recorded for incorporation into the *Cartas Anuas* of the province.[31] One of the difficulties in the conversion of the Negroes was their language, consequently Gouveia suggested that it was preferable not to attempt missionary work among them until after they had resided in Brazil several years. To correct this inconvenience, which retarded conversion, he proposed the sending of two brothers to Angola to learn the language. A few of the Jesuits became quite proficient at the langauge.[32]

---

[30] *Ibid.,* II, 285-286, 300-301, 561-564.

---

[31] The regulations as contained in Gouveia's report of 1586, ASJR, *Brasilia,* 2, 146v-147, are quoted in full by Leite, II, 306-307.

Impelled by the desire to further the conversion of Indians and Negro slaves, the Visitor obtained certain privileges for the secular clergy as well as for the members of his order toward that end. For example, he obtained permission from the planters for the Jesuits and the secular clergy as well to say Mass with both Indian and Negro slaves and masters in attendance; there were chaplains on some of the plantations, but the planters prohibited their slaves from attending the same Mass with them. *Ibid.,* II, 304.

The Jesuits always bent every effort to avoid misunderstandings and to cooperate with the civil authorities, "for the common good of Christianity." Mutual amity and collaboration were more frequent than otherwise. In general, the basis of discord, when it existed, was the question of Indian freedom, for which the Jesuits consistently fought. This crusade, a source of more serious conflict in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the cause of only occasional discord in the sixteenth century. The long struggle, although contributing to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil, was not in vain, for they won out in the end; to their eternal glory they were "the abolitionists of those days." The explanation for the slave-hunters' hatred of the Jesuits is self-evident. Since it was not within the power of the Jesuits to bring about the complete abolition of slavery in the colonial period, the problem of confessing slave-hunters was a delicate one, complicated by the fact that such persons either did not bother to go to confession or else received absolution from some secular priest. Those who went into the interior on war expeditions in conformity with the laws and orders of the king, the governor general, and the town councils, of course were exempt from religious censure, and the Jesuits were permitted to accompany official military expeditions against hostile Indians. Father Inacio de Azevedo had stated in this regard, in 1568, that members of the Society could not accompany warlike expeditions without the permission of the provincial, unless the governor were present on the expedition and had requested the services of the Jesuits to confess and assist the wounded. Gouveia, in slightly different language, reaffirmed this order in 1586.[33]

The lax morals of the Brazilian aristocracy were something the Jesuits could only attempt to correct, as in the case of Negro slavery; the former was tolerated by the secular clergy, and the latter accepted by an absolute government and thus beyond their control. When in 1583 Gouveia ordered the compilation of the duties and privileges of the Jesuits with regard to confession, before he had time fully to acquaint himself with existing conditions, he brought up a most difficult problem. The Jesuits had always taken a firm stand in refusing to grant absolution in the confessional to those living in concubinage and those who obtained slaves illegally. This was a delicate point in the period of Governor Teles Barreto, who was hostile and touchy for personal reasons. Gouveia, who was conciliatory by nature, inclined toward a less rigid stand in view of the impossibility of solving the problem. After his return to Portugal the earlier firm stand was restored, however, and was approved by the Father General of the Society in 1598.[34]

---

[32] Leite, II, 340-341, 353; Cardim, *Tratados,* 289.

[33] *Ibid.,* II, 279-281, 363.

Gouveia's visitation and Anchieta's provincialship fell during the administration of the only really hostile governor whom the Jesuits encountered in fifty years. The period could have witnessed serious setbacks had the Jesuit visitor been less able in administrative leadership. It will be recalled that Governor Teles Barreto went to Brazil on the same ship that carried the Jesuit visitor, and on the way he showed every sign of respect, but once in Brazil he soon adopted a hostile attitude.[35] His passion against the Jesuits delayed but did not impede the work of evangelization, which gained new life during the rule of his successor. His attitude provoked various reports written by Gouveia, Anchieta, Cardim, and others, all of which because of the general information they contain are precious sources of early Brazilian history. The *Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos da Baia,* c. 1583, was written specifically to counter the early efforts of Teles Barreto to remove the *aldeias* from the Jesuits. As passion provokes passion, the *Informação* is vehement against the exploitation of the Indians. Read critically, however, it constitutes an important historical document. Fortunately the violence did not last, and when Gouveia left for Portugal in 1589, two years after the death of Teles Barreto, the storm had temporarily passed. The Jesuits made mistakes of zeal, and in this sense were partially to blame, thus Gouveia constantly urged the fathers to go out of their way to cultivate the friendship of the civil authorities. But the impossible attitude of Teles Barreto is undeniable.[36]

Numerous conflicts arose over the question of Indian slavery. Some of the fathers refused absolution to the owners of slaves. There was also the problem of returning to their masters Indians who fled to the Jesuit *aldeias,* and often the impossibility of sending all the Indians requested by the Portuguese for hire on

---

[34] Leite, II, 129, 229-230.

[35] *Ibid.,* II, 155-157, 161.

[36] *Ibid.,* II, 155-169; Cristóvão de Gouveia to the Father General, Bahia, August 19, 1585, cited in *ibid.,* II, 161.

6/35

their plantations. The Visitor recognized that the Portuguese were justified in some of their complaints and assured them that serious obstacles would be removed. But despite his broad-minded appreciation of the problem, the Father Visitor himself was finally forced to admit the premise of some of his more zealous confreres: namely, that the only solution would be the complete abolition of Indian slavery in Brazil. One of the means the Portuguese used to increase the number of their slaves was to lure free Indians into marrying female slaves. The source of free male Indians was the Jesuit *aldeias*. Gouveia requested of his superior in Rome the right to excommunicate those engaged in such abuse, including those of the secular clergy consenting to or performing such marriages. To alleviate the lot of the slave women attached to the colleges, the Visitor left instructions that those with infants should not be permitted to do heavy work, nor work at any task for more than four or five hours a day, and be given special care and help. Due to Jesuit pressure, the royal decree of 1587 brought passing improvement. It required, among other things, the presence of Jesuits on all officially sanctioned expeditions into the interior, in order to avoid bloodshed and cruelty.[37] Gouveia ordered Jesuits to refuse absolution to any person who went into the hinterland to traffic in slaves independently of this law.[38]

During the course of his visitation Gouveia helped solve, by facing them frankly and squarely, many matters of a local nature important to the Society and to the general program of social, moral, and intellectual betterment. The itinerary is brilliantly set forth in Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar*. A few of his observations and activities in the course of his odyssey by sea, river, stream, and over waste lands and mountain passes, in the effort

---

[37] Leite, II, 211, corrects Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* São Paulo, n. d., I, 498, who gives credit to Teles Barreto for bringing about this royal decree.

[38] Leite, II, 211, 223-224, 229-230. The problem of slavery, Negro and Indian, continued to be a thorn in the side of the Jesuits, for much as they opposed it, it was no more in their power to abolish it than it would have been had they been crusading against it in the Old Dominion or anywhere else in the colonial period. However, they did all within their power to better the lot of the Indian and Negro; in this sense, far ahead of their times in their humanitarian stand, they were troublemakers. In truth, however, of the governors in the sixteenth century, only Teles Barreto really opposed the Jesuits; and there were no serious difficulties with bishops and other religious orders on the matter of Indian freedom. No other religious orders were formally established in Brazil until 1581, thirty-two years after the Jesuits had begun their work toward the freedom of the natives. The problem is well stated in Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1939, I, 338-339, 394.

EX LIBRIS PROVINCIAE
PRO STUDIO THEOL.
S. S. CORDIS JESU

to leave no corner of the far-flung Jesuit province unvisited, a province extending along a coastal strip of some 1,200 miles, are deserving of special mention. In so vast an administrative unit, one problem was that of placing the missionaries in places where their services would be of greatest advantage. At Porto Seguro, the hostility of the local authorities, and the low moral conditions of the Portuguese inhabitants led the Visitor to propose to the Father General that the Jesuit residence there be closed. This was not done until 1602, although hostility of the wild Aimores Indians brought an end to missionary work here for several years.[39] At Espirito Santo, on the other hand, the Visitor makes numerous references to the outstanding piety of the people, and the edifying spectacle of active religious confraternities among both the Portuguese and Indian population of the town and its environs. In 1584, on the occasion of Gouveia's visit, eight *aldeias* are mentioned in this region.[40] These *aldeia* establishments were composed of Indians brought from the interior. A large group arrived in 1584 while Gouveia was visiting there. Cardim's descriptions of the reception given the Visitor and his companions at the *aldeias* da Conceição and of São João in November of 1584 are classic.[41]

When Gouveia visited São Paulo in 1585 the Jesuit college there was in full bloom, "in its modesty it represented a high civilizing and social ideal in those nomadic indigenous surroundings."[42] And this was only thirty years after the founding of São Paulo. The Jesuits were loved by all in Piratininga, and Gouveia and Cardim wrote enthusiastically of their glorious reception there. The arrival of the Visitor made possible a decision with regard to the proposed transfer of the Jesuit residence from São Vicente to nearby Santos. The place had been first visited by the Jesuits in late 1549 or early 1550, but no residence had been established there. The people of Santos, although poor, begged the Visitor to establish the Jesuits there, and gave in alms, and some houses and land estimated as valuing some 500 *cruzados,* for the purpose. Following the sacking and destruction of São Vicente by Cavendish, the transfer, long suggested, was finally made. It was a practical step, for although it suffered from the incursions of English pirates, Santos prospered. Whereas prior to 1585 the Jesuits from São Vicente visited

---

[39] *Ibid.,* I, 202, 205, 212.
[40] *Ibid.,* I, 230.
[41] Cardim, *Tratados,* 298-301.
[42] Leite, I, 279.

Santos, now the opposite was the case; and as São Vicente had sent aid to Rio de Janeiro at the time of its conquest from the French, Santos was to send assistance to Piratininga on the occasion of the Indian siege of 1591.[43]

At Rio de Janeiro the Visitor also found that the Jesuits were especially well liked; they were the sole ministers of the Church there for several years prior to the arrival of a secular pastor in 1569. Cardim's description of the festivities attending the arrival of the Visitor there in 1584 constitutes one of his most delightful passages. In 1585 Gouveia ordered the building of a new and satisfactory Jesuit church at Rio, which was completed in 1588.[44] A typical example of Gouveia's balanced but conciliatory character, which was responsible for much of his success in his dealings with others, was his handling of the dispute over the properties of Macacu while at Rio.[45]

In the northern captaincy of Pernambuco the Visitor and Cardim were impressed in 1584 by the prosperous commerce and economic activity in and around the city of Pernambuco. The padres were taken aback by the glowing welcome given them in this region, referred to as "New Lusitania." Local officials went out of their way to insist that they were at the complete service of the Visitor.[46] They were undoubtedly thinking about their own economic interests—their rich plantations and sugar mills teeming with slaves. They were not entirely successful, for although Cardim describes Pernambuco as a devout place, he does not hesitate to call attention to the sensuous indulgence and immorality of the wealthy planters, many of whom lived in concubinage. Some of Gouveia's visits to the *fazendas* and *engenhos* of Pernambuco were by request, other to win over some of those who were unfriendly. Both classes of individuals received the

---

[43] *Ibid.,* I, 263-264, 310-312.

[44] *Ibid.,* I, 392; Cardim, *Tratados,* 305-306.

[45] This land had been donated to the Jesuits in 1571, the grant confirmed by the king and officially registered at Rio in 1573. The boundaries had never been definitely marked, and as a result a litigation was started by certain claimants, the heirs of one Fernandes. Their claims were well-founded. The first court decision was in favor of the Jesuits. Gouveia ordered that the land in dispute should be given up until a more definite decision was reached. At the same time he wrote to Rome that the heirs of Fernandes were poor people, and that the whole affair would be edifying, and would relieve the Jesuits of all possible criticism in the matter should his views be accepted. As a result, Jesuit claims to the land in dispute were given up by order of the Father General. Unfortunately, some years later, in 1590, the provincial Beliarte accepted rights to the land, thus frustrating Gouveia's noble gesture. Leite, I, 418-419; "Informação das terras do Macacu para Nosso Padre Geral," Bahia, September 11, 1585, printed in *ibid.,* I, 548-549.

[46] Cardim, *Tratados,* 289-296.

Jesuits with manifestations of good will, however. Cardim, in his *Narrativa Epistolar,* relates that they were received by these wealthy and easy living planters with a hospitality greater than that shown by the best friends of the Jesuits in Portugal itself! The Visitor and his companions were welcomed with great feasting in banquet halls as richly furnished as the castles of the wealthy nobility of Portugal.[47] Observing the great number of plantations in the interior of the captaincy, where the sons of the wealthy planters were without proper educational or moral assistance, the Visitor conceived the plan of founding colleges there, which did not materialize.

Although the Jesuits had visited the Indians of Pernambuco as early as 1551, there was no organized missionary work among them until 1584.[48] Gouveia gave impetus to this work, and attempted to gain lost time. He ordered fifteen-day missions at all the plantations of the interior. Two Jesuits should conduct each of these missions, and a complete circuit of the white plantations and Indian *aldeias* should be made. This turned out to be, along with the other services of the college, the most important work of the Jesuits here. The Visitor was able to write that all such settlements were visited by the priests on journeys ranging from eight to fifteen leagues. At some of the plantations there was a resident chaplain of the secular clergy, traditional and decorative, who said Mass only for the planter and his Portuguese household in the family chapel. These chaplains were little different from their masters in worldly interests, hence missionary work among the Indians and Negro slaves fell to the Jesuits. In 1584 it was estimated that there were some sixty-six plantations in Pernambuco. Each had a sizable settlement composed of whites, Negroes, and native Indians. On these plantations the Visitor estimated that there were some 15,000 to 20,000 Negro slaves. To the Jesuits here was indeed a great opportunity, and they now made each plantation a mission headquarters, from which they visited the surrounding area preaching Christianity, baptizing, confessing, correcting marriages, and bringing consolation and a more ordered concept of society to the benighted natives. The Indian chief Matagoia asked to be converted at the time of Gouveia's visitation, and invited the Jesuit superior to visit his *aldeia.* Gouveia, despite warnings of possible treachery, visited the *aldeia,* where a humble church was built, and where eight hundred natives were instructed and later baptized. From his observations at Pernambuco, the Visitor, in defense of the Indians, ordered excommunication for those who would go to disturb the neophytes of the *aldeia,* for he knew full well that the cursed slaver, with his enticing false promises and gewgaws, could quickly destroy the good work if permitted to do so.[49]

---

[47] See Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XI (May 1931), 145-168.

[48] Leite, I, 494.

Besides the purely humanitarian work of giving impetus and direction to general social, moral, and spiritual advancement, Gouveia played an important rôle in the promotion and progress of science, letters, and the arts in late sixteenth-century Brazil. At all the colleges, those at Bahia, Rio, and Pernambuco assuming the character of colonial universities, the Visitor insisted upon the maintenance of the highest standards. The faculty and standards at Bahia were equal to those of any of the smaller universities of sixteenth-century Europe, and equal or superior to most of the colleges and universities of colonial America, Latin or Anglo-Saxon, during their first half-century of development. In scientific and intellectual matters, as in every other aspect of his work, Gouveia issued rules and regulations pertaining to the most minute details. For example, he knew as well as everyone else that the best way to deplete a library was to lend out books indiscriminately. Because of the seriousness of the matter Visitor Azevedo had recommended that no books be lent out by the Jesuit libraries in Brazil under any circumstances. Gouveia relaxed the prohibition, applying it only to books of which there was only a single copy, and of these the prelate and a few persons of high quality should be excepted. This new regulation was a wise one, for many prelates donated books to the Jesuit libraries. Each house should always have a written copy of the latest approved *Doutrina* and *Diálogo* or *Suma da Fé.* These had been worked out in preliminary form in the native Tupi language since 1549, and prepared for the *aldeias* in manuscript copies, and as early as 1566 a copy of one had been sent to Portugal.

In the early years, due to the general absence of professional doctors in Brazil, the Jesuits, in their social work, often gave what medical assistance was within their power. Anchieta was loved and respected by all for his countless charitable services as amateur nurse and doctor, in which he attained considerable skill through his keen observation and discovery of simple but practical remedies for common wounds and illnesses. There was some question within the Society as to whether or not Jesuits should be permitted to engage in the practice of bleeding, the widely used medical treatment of those years. References to Anchieta as being lax in following the rules of the Society apply to such matters as this. Although doctors were scarce in Brazil in Gouveia's time, nevertheless, in 1586 he ordered that "None of ours may bleed, on his own initiative, except in extreme necessity, where the illness is grave and there is no one else to do it." The art of bleeding was not the business of Jesuits. The *Informãço do Brasil para Nosso Padre,* prepared under the direction of and signed by Gouveia, written in the style of Cardim, and attributed by some to Anchieta, contains among notices of medical interest, of which Anchieta was undoubtedly the source if not the actual writer of the information, an interesting section on alimentary hygiene.[50]

---

[49] Cardim, *Tratados,* 289-296; Leite, I, 494-496.

In building, the Jesuits in some cases not only introduced religious but civil architecture, as in São Paulo. They were fortunate in having among their members Brother Francisco Dias, who before his entrance into the Society was a professional architect. He had helped in the construction of the famous Church of São Roque in Lisbon. He was sent to Brazil for the specific purpose of directing building operations. Thus, to avoid diversity of planning and architectural style in accordance with the personal taste of local superiors who were not always competent in such matters, Visitor Gouveia proposed to the Father General that all buildings should be constructed from plans of Brother Dias. The Visitor's suggestions in this regard were generally observed. Brother Dias drew up the plan for the College of Bahia, and most of the Jesuit buildings in Brazil in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[51]

The Jesuit theater not only instructed and entertained the early Brazilians, but represented the beginnings of Brazilian literature.[52] By Gouveia's time such dramatic presentations, by both the Portuguese students of the colleges and the Indians of the *aldeias,* were already a part of the cultural life of Brazil. The Jesuits were almost solely responsible for developing the religious drama in sixteenth-century Brazil among the Indians and slaves, and among the Portuguese population and at the colleges. Gouveia could only give encouragement to a work already well established. The indirect but special contribution of

---

[50] Leite, II, 542, 557, 570, 573, 582; *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 424-434.

[51] *Ibid.,* II, 597.

[52] Afrânio Peixoto, *Primeiras Letras,* Rio de Janeiro, 1923, *passim.*

Gouveia to this chapter in the history of the Brazilian drama is to be found in the mention and delightful descriptions of such presentations to be found in the various official reports of his visitation prepared under his direction.[53] These reports are also full of material for the study of social history, cultural fusion, and comparative folklore.

Brazilian scholars are grateful to Visitor Gouveia for his vigilance in regard to the preservation of official records. In the course of time many Jesuit letters and reports which otherwise would have enriched the sources of later students of Brazilian civilization were lost at sea on their way from Brazil to Portugal when the ships carrying them were wrecked or attacked and sacked by enemy pirates. Precautionary measures were necessary, and Gouveia insisted that at all times duplicate copies be made of official Jesuit correspondence to Europe, so that certified copies could be sent when the originals were lost at sea. The vessel in which Gouveia himself was traveling, on his return to Portugal, was attacked by French pirates and he found it necessary to cast into the ocean some "secret papers." To salvage the remainder of their papers the Visitor and his companions underwent much punishment at the hands of their captors, but it was not entirely in vain, even though some of the documents were damaged after being temporarily hidden in such places as barrels and water pipes.[54]

Gouveia's visitation is also memorable in connection with two important events pertaining to colonial defense and to territorial and cultural expansion in which he played an active rôle: the defense of Bahia in 1587, and the arrival of the first Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay in 1588. On April 21, 1587, the English pirates Robert Withrington and Christopher Lister, returning from the Straits of Magellan, took captive, and held for a time, the first Jesuit missionaries who were on their way from Brazil to Paraguay. Eager for loot, the British seamen surprised and ravaged Bahia. The Visitor was there at the time, and played a leading rôle in the defense of the city. He called out the Indians of the nearby Jesuit *aldeias,* and, as usual, they were in the first line of defense, recalling to memory the similar rôle of the loyal Indians of the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments in the conquest of

---

[53] Cardim, *Tratados, passim,* speaks of the following presentations: *Auto Pastoril* (1583), *Diálogo Pastoril* (1584), *Diálogo* (1584), *Auto das Onze Mil Virgens* (1584), *Diálogo de Ave Maria* (1584), *Auto de S. Sebastião* (1584); Leite, II, 608-610.

[54] Leite, I, 132; II, 538-539; Cardim, *Tratados,* 322-324.

Rio de Janeiro from the French invaders two decades earlier; and overcoming the cowardice of the settlers, it was the persuasive and respected Visitor who rounded up and aroused the spirit of the people for the struggle, thereby assuring victory.[55]

The idea of establishing a mission in Paraguay had been entertained by the Brazilian Jesuits since as early as 1551. With news of large tribes there awaiting conversion, it was frequently pressed, even after the ill-starred mission of Brothers Pero Correia and João de Sousa, who, on their way to Paraguay in 1554, were killed by Carijó Indians at the instigation of a disgruntled Spaniard who had been freed by them from Indian captivity, but who brought about their murder because they ordered him to give up a concubine.[56] The union of Spain and Portugal had its unwelcome consequences, a more violent cycle of enemy attacks upon Brazilian towns and cities, especially by the Dutch; but there were also advantages of lasting importance, outstanding of which was the temporary removal of former national barriers, and the expansion into the vast interior lying at the crossroads between the settled areas of Spanish and Portuguese South America. The Jesuits took the opportunity to renew the request to extend missions into Paraguay. At the Provincial Congregation held in Bahia in 1583 it was proposed that the Father General bring to the attention of the king the desirability of sending Jesuits of the Brazilian province to Paraguay, requesting Spanish naval protection for the voyage to Buenos Aires. Gouveia supported the plan, and in 1584 was authorized to send some Jesuits to Paraguay *per modum missionum*. Meanwhile, and independently, the Bishop of Tucumán asked the Brazilian superior for priests. Gouveia sent five Jesuits. But two Jesuits had gone to Tucumán from the Peruvian province. As a result, in 1591 the Brazilian Jesuits were ordered to withdraw. It was all for the best, since at this moment a new field was being opened up in northern Brazil, and Brazilian Jesuits were now needed there. Finally, in 1607, Paraguay was made an independent province, separate from both Brazil and Peru. Hence the Jesuits of the Brazilian province worked several years after 1588 in Paraguay, and though they did not establish the first of the famous *reductions* there, they were pioneers of the famous Paraguay mission.[57]

---

[55] Leite, II, 137-138; note of Rodolfo Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados,* 328; Pierre du Jarric, S. J., *L'Histoire des choses plus memorables . . .*, Bordeaux, 1608-1614, II, 315; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation,* Glasgow, 1904, XI, 202-227; Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação Anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões . . . 1600 a 1609,* Coimbra, 1930-1933, I, 376.

[56] Leite, II, 236-242.

Although Gouveia had early asked to remain in Brazil without special duties, the Provincial Congregation of 1583 petitioned the Father General to appoint him provincial at the termination of his visitation.[58] Neither petition was granted. After issuing the final instructions of his visitation and receiving Father Marçal Beliarte as successor to Anchieta in the provincialship, Beliarte arriving in Bahia on January 22, 1588, Gouveia prepared to return to Portugal.[59] A storm delayed his immediate departure, but he and his companions Father Francisco Soares and Brother Barnabé Tello finally set out from Pernambuco on June 28, 1589. Nearing Portugal, on the morning of September 6, the unarmed vessel in which they were traveling was surprised and boarded by Protestant French pirates. The Jesuits were pushed about, struck and badly bruised, their lives threatened, and some of their papers and reports were lost in the scuffle. Near La Rochelle, some seventy or eighty leagues from the European coast, they were given some half-spoiled hardtack and some very black beer, transferred to a small boat, and abandoned. They reached the coast of Biscay on September 15, more dead than alive, where, at Santander, a curate, upon learning that they were Jesuits, gave them food and lodging, and clothes and provisions for the continuance of their journey. They made their way to Burgos, Valladolid, Bragança in northern Portugal, finally reaching Lisbon on December 1, 1589, some five months after they had left Brazil.[60]

Upon his return to Portugal Gouveia continued to serve in important administrative posts. He again became rector of the college at Evora, and in the last years of the century was appointed provincial of the Portuguese province. Always he was esteemed by his colleagues for his kindness and charity, sound judgment, and keen foresight. He was frequently consulted in Portugal and Rome as an authority on matters pertaining to Brazil. As provincial he constantly urged strict observation of the rules of the Society, kept up a lively interest in the maintenance of the highest standards in the Jesuit colleges, and helped to bring about uniformity in the observation of the *Ratio Studiorum* in the Portuguese colleges prior to the publication of its final draft in 1599.[61] As rector of the Professed House in Lisbon, he was looked upon as a father by his fellow Jesuits. Father General Aquaviva dreamed of confiding the Jesuit mission in Japan to Gouveia's administrative genius, and was constrained by the Pope to have him accept the post of bishop of Japan, but illness prevented. On February 13, 1622, Gouveia passed away at the Jesuit house of São Roque in Lisbon at the age of eighty, after a long life well spent.[62]

---

[57] Leite, I, 333-358; see also Pablo Hernández, *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaranies de la Compañia de Jesús,* Barcelona, 1913, I, 440-441. Varnhagen, IV, 180, has the chronology badly garbled in his discussion on this subject. See Leite, I, 344-349.

[58] Leite, II, 491.

[59] *Ibid.,* II, 492.

[60] Cardim, *Tratados,* 322-326; Leite, II, 492-493.

Among Gouveia's many services, none was more worthy of record and of wider influence than his work as second Jesuit visitor to Brazil. He lent relevant services to Brazil, and deservedly has been called the "second founder" of the Jesuit province of Brazil. The instructions of the first visitor, Inacio de Azevedo, were given their permanent pattern as codified by Gouveia at an important turning point in sixteenth-century Jesuit and Brazilian development. He gave impetus to the brilliant beginnings of the Jesuit colleges fostering the arts, sciences, and culture. He furthered Indian education and social developments, and extended missionary work. He directed and engaged in an active correspondence with his superiors in Europe in letters, reports, and relations, all precious sources of information for the history of Brazil in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[63]

---

[61] Rodrigues, *História,* II, II, 26, 34, 43, 53.

[62] Leite, II, 493; Franco, 81.

[63] The following important manuscript accounts of sixteenth-century Brazil were written under Gouveia's direction: *Narrativa Epistolar de uma viagem e missão Jesuitica* (1583-1590); *Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias* (1584); *Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos da Baía* (c. 1583); *Breve Narração das coisas relativas aos colegios e residencias da Companhia nesta provincia Brasilica, no ano de 1584; Informação da Provincia do Brasil para nosso padre* (1583); *Summario das Armadas que se fizerão, e Guerras que se derão na Conquista do Rio da Parahyba . . .* (c. 1587). All of these manuscripts have been published in Portuguese editions. The most critical edition of the first account is the edition in Cardim, *Tratados, op. cit.,* 247-364; the most critical editions of the following four reports are those in *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 301-447; the last mentioned manuscript was published in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro,* Rio de Janeiro, XXXVII, Part 1, 5-89.

Serafim Leite, in his *História,* cites over a dozen unpublished letters and reports written by Gouveia as visitor to his Jesuit superiors in Europe, all of which are found in the Archivum Societatis Jesu Romanum (ASJR), and the Fondo Gesuitico (Gesù), in Rome. They are cited or quoted over a hundred times in his two-volume *História,* several of them in full. The most important are the following:

LETTERS. Bahia, July 25, 1583, ASJR, *Lusitania,* 68; Bahia, December 31, 1583, *ibid.;* Pernambuco, September 6, 1584, *ibid.;* Pernambuco, September 7, 1584, *ibid.;* Bahia, November 1, 1584, *ibid.;* Bahia, November 5, 1584, *ibid.;* Bahia, August 19, 1585, ASJR, *Lusitania,* 69.

He attempted to harmonize and settle the difficulties presented by Governor Teles Barreto. He promoted and personally contributed to general spiritual and moral uplift, cultural unity, defense against pirates, and the fight for Indian freedom and spiritual consolation for the Negro slave. His rules and regulations henceforth came to form the basis of Jesuit usage in Brazil, and the rule of the province, as law, dispensation from which was permitted only in exceptional cases and in *auditis consultoribus.* "Gouveia was the great codifier and legislator of the Society of Jesus in Brazil in the XVIth century."[64] Aquaviva, Father General of the Society, was so entirely satisfied with the visitation that he ordered that no changes be made in the important rules and regulations established by Gouveia as visitor to the Jesuit province of Brazil.[65]

The brilliant inauguration of Jesuit missionary, educational, social, and religious work in Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century, stands out as one of their greatest achievements in colonial America. In the most difficult frontier surroundings the Jesuits laid the foundations of a new culture. A degree of peace and prosperity aided in the progress of this work in the last decades of the century. In the seventeenth century, under

---

REPORTS. "Confirmação que de Roma se enviou a Provincia do Brasil de algumas coisas que o P. Cristóvão de Gouveia Visitador ordenou nela o ano de 1584," ASJR, *Brasilia,* 2, 139-149; "O que parece ao P^{e}. Visitador Cristóvão de Gouveia ordenar na visita deste Coll^{o}. da Baya, 1° de Janeiro de 89," Gesù, *Colleg.* 13 (Baya); "O que parecu ao Padre Cristóvão de Gouveia . . . acerca das fundações do Cólegio da Baía e Rio de Janeiro . . .," ASJR, *Brasilia,* 11; "Informação das terras do Macacu para Nosso Padre Geral . . . Baya, 11 de Setiembre 85," ASJR, *Lusitania,* 69.

RELATED DOCUMENTS. Letter from Cristóvão de Gouveia, rector of the College of Santo Antão, to the Father General, Lisbon, April 31, 1581, ASJR, *Lusitania,* 68; "Instrucción particular para el P. Cristóval de Gouveia Visitador del Brasil," Rome, July 21, 1582, Gesù, *Colleg.* 20 (Brasil); "Censura de Cristóvão de Gouveia a Vida de Santo Inacio pelo P. Rivadeneira," *Monumenta Ignatiana . . .,* Series IV, Madrid, 1904-1918, I, 740-741.

Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana,* Lisbon, 1741, I, 578-579, refers to the following two manuscripts written by Gouveia, but never published and now considered lost (citation by Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados,* 328-329): *Historia do Brasil, e costumes de seus habitadores; Commentario das occupaçoens que teve, e do que nellas fez.*

[64] Leite, II, 491. Leite, II, 418, adds: "The regulations of his visitations (1586-1589) are, in reality, in themselves, a true code of usage [*costumeiro*], with the strength of law, and they came to constitute the authentic and legal basis of usage [of the Jesuits] of Brazil." See also *ibid.,* II, 417.

[65] Guilhermy, I, 155. The successful constructive work of the visitation was, of course, due in great part to the able collaboration of Gouveia's Jesuit companions in Brazil. Of these, the most important were Fathers Fernão Cardim, Rodrigo de Freitas, José de Anchieta, Luiz da Grã, Quiricio Caxa, Ignacio de Tolosa, Luiz da Fonseca, and Brothers Barnabé Tello and Francisco Dias.

the retarding influences of international strife, with its piratical attacks, temporary loss of territory, and dislocation of economy, not to mention the refusal of the Western World to aid in the abolition of Indian and Negro slavery, the Jesuits continued to expand their field of activities, and to maintain something of the tempo of brilliant success that characterized their work in the previous half-century. In the eighteenth century, they were suddenly torn from their fields of labor, in a violent but passing maelstrom of uncontrollable elements of intellectual confusion. But their religious, educational, and humanitarian work was not of a passing nature; they were a potent force in the formation of Brazilian civilization.

J. Manuel Espinosa

Institute of Jesuit History

Edward Creighton and the Pacific Telegraph

On the morning of May 10, 1869, Omaha, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York joined in celebrating, with speeches and parades, the driving of the golden spike which united the rails of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. One float in the Omaha parade consisted of a wagon on which were erected poles strung with wire, while at a table sat an operator ostensibly "dispatching lightning." On the side of the wagon was a banner bearing the inscription: "The Pacific Telegraph—projected and constructed by a citizen of Omaha."[1] The citizen of Omaha whose achievements were thus remembered was Edward Creighton. But he himself was not in Omaha that morning, nor was he celebrating the occasion at a distance nor indulging interesting memories. More characteristically, he was far away, a significant member of the group making history at Promontory Point, for he had built for Western Union the last section of its line along the Union Pacific right of way.[2]

Creighton had come to Omaha in 1856, a young man, somewhat above medium height, of square, powerful, symmetrical build. His full expressive face was distinguished by a broad forehead, eyes inclined to twinkle, and lips which smiled. But his eyes could glow with zeal, and his lips were often set in a line of determination. He was a man who had done things, who was to do greater things. Born in Belmont county, Ohio, August 31, 1820, Edward was the fifth child of James and Bridget Hughes Creighton. His formal schooling was just elementary; he did not finish grade school, yet by diligent study when the day's chores were done he secured a fair education. When he was eighteen his father gave him, as a patrimony, a stout wagon and a team of horses. Edward had little difficulty finding work for himself and his team, hauling freight and later grading turnpikes and roadbeds for rails creeping west.

EDITOR'S NOTE. This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Omaha, May 3, 1940.

[1] *Omaha Weekly Herald,* May 12, 1869.

[2] The telegram he sent from Promontory that day to his wife, Mary Lucretia Creighton, is in her scrapbook, now in the possession of Mrs. Emma Nash, a grandniece to whom I am deeply indebted for many kindnesses.

One day in 1847 he saw men setting poles along the road. Questioning the men he learned that they were putting up a telegraph line. He immediately went to Springfield where he met Bernard O'Connor, who had the construction contract. Soon Creighton had a contract to deliver poles on a line from Dayton to Evansville in Ohio. Nor was the year out before he had another for constructing part of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville line. This was one of Henry O'Reilly's lines, as was the Peoples Line from Louisville to New Orleans, part of which Creighton built during 1848. For the next half dozen years he was actively engaged in the several phases of telegraph building and operation as contractor, superintendent, and agent. In 1850 he erected part of the New York and Mississippi Printing Telegraph Company's line west from Buffalo. Hiram Sibley and his Rochester associates, using the House patent, made this line the nucleus of the Western Union Company, which was formed in 1856 when Sibley's lines were combined with those of Ezra Cornell and J. H. Wade, who had the Morse rights to that territory. Creighton's future was to be linked closely with the men of Western Union.

In 1855 we find him grading streets in Toledo, and later preparing railroad roadbed near Mexico, Missouri. The forty teams used by him on this job were sold in 1856 in Keokuk, Iowa, when a change in the city council resulted in the revoking of a street grading contract. The same year he went to Omaha. His brothers James, Joseph, and John, and his cousin James, generally known as "Long Jim" Creighton, all of whom had been associated with him, also went to Omaha and were to be valuable assistants in his later undertakings. The brother James does not seem to have gone out with the crews which built the Pacific Telegraph, but he did handle some of Edward's Omaha affairs while the latter was on the plains. The cousin, "Long Jim," however, was a most energetic, resolute, and reliable associate in this venture as well as in the freighting business in which he established a significant reputation.[3]

In the fall of 1856, Edward returned to Dayton, Ohio, where on October 7 he married Mary Lucretia Wareham. The next spring he took his bride to Omaha, going first to Pittsburgh to load a steamer with lumber for which there was a ready market in the new settlement on the Missouri. He was now a substantial citizen, with an established reputation as a freighter, contractor, and telegraph builder, and having a working capital of about twenty-five thousand dollars. This year, 1857, he was able to loan J. Sterling Morton $1,400, the note for which is among his effects. He entered actively into the life of the new city, including the political. On July 17, 1858, he was elected a delegate to the Democratic county convention;[4] but he was never a candidate for public office.

---

[3] This account of Creighton's early years has been based in the main on P. A. Mullens, S. J., "Edward Creighton," in his *Creighton, Biographical Sketches,* Omaha, 1901; James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America,* second edition, New York, 1886; and the *Journal of the Telegraph,* III (June 1, 1870), 154. Notes and receipts found in his effects and now in possession of The Creighton University gave some help in tracing his movements.

The panic year, 1857, was a dismal one in Omaha, but the discovery of gold on Cherry Creek in 1858 revived business and also the rivalry of Omaha with the other river towns, Florence, Bellevue, Nebraska City, and St. Joseph. Each strove to be the outfitting center for the hurrying gold seekers. The subsequent rush and the Utah War stimulated discussion of a railroad to the Pacific and renewed the agitation for a telegraph to California. The *Omaha Times* of September 16, 1858, reported the *St. Joseph Gazette* as saying: "We have been talking about a telegraph to the Pacific coast ever since California was organized." Two weeks later the *Times* seconded enthusiastically the *Iowa State Journal's* desire for a line from the Mississippi to the Missouri, but wanted it continued to the coast, for which project it understood Congress had made an appropriation. But the *Times* was mistaken, for, though the matter had been taken up in several sessions and a bill to subsidize a line from the District of Columbia to San Francisco had passed the Senate, February 26, 1857,[5] too few days remained in that session for the House to consider it. Significantly, all but one of the fifteen senators who voted against this bill represented slave states. Several new proposals were made in 1858, and it seemed that the general interest in the telegraph and the particular advantages of the army en route to Utah would make Congress listen favorably to the pleas of the California senators and of the telegraph promoters. But the proposals made little headway in 1858 or in 1859. Personal rivalries, promoters' rivalries, the same sectional rivalries which delayed the passage of a railroad bill, combined with serious doubts of the practicability of building and maintaining a line through a vast wilderness peopled only by Indians, prevented favorable action.

---

[4] *Omaha Times,* July 22, 1858.

[5] *Cong. Globe,* 34th Cong., 3d sess., Appendix, 293-298.

But while Congress discussed and doubted, how could the significance of such a project be lost on an old telegraph man like Creighton, living now on the banks of the Missouri, watching the endless procession of emigrants hurrying to the gold fields and of freighters plodding after them? How could the hazards of such an enterprise be anything but a challenge to a man who had demonstrated on many occasions his hardihood, courage, and resourcefulness? A man whom the *Omaha Weekly Herald,* on January 22, 1866, described as "remarkable" for his "practical energy, judgment and skill?" By 1859 Creighton was again actively interested in advancing telegraph lines.

The pressure on Congress did not abate. Some indication of the struggle as it appeared to a Washington correspondent may be gleaned from the following:

> An earnest and probably successful effort is in the making by the Government in conjunction with the leading telegraph gentlemen of the country, to insure the prompt completion of a substantial line of telegraph from the Mississippi River to San Francisco. There are now present in the city, in consultation upon this subject, Hiram Sibley, Esq., President of the Western Union Telegraph Company; Zenas Barnum, Esq., President of the American Telegraph Company; T. H. Walker, Esq., President of the N. Y. and Buffalo Co.; Dr. Green, President of the New Orleans and Louisville Co.; Colonel Bee, President of one of the California lines; Judge Selden of Rochester; T. S. Faxton, Esq., of Utica; Cyrus W. Field, Esq., of New York; Ezra Cornell, Esq., of Ithaca, and others.
>
> Nearly all the Presidents of the various telegraph companies throughout the United States are here, looking after the bill before the Senate. . . . It appears there are so many conflicting interests in behalf of this measure that it is likely to fall to the ground.[6]

Through the perseverance of Hiram Sibley, who overcame the reluctance of his fellow Western Union directors and conciliated enough of his rivals by bringing them into the final contract, Congress was finally induced to grant a subsidy, June 16, 1860. The subsidy was to be $40,000 a year for ten years, for a line from some point on the Missouri to San Francisco. The contract for the subsidy was not to be signed until the line was in actual operation, and the line had to be in operation within two years from July 31, 1860. The act gave a right of way through unoccupied lands, as well as a quarter section every fifteen miles for repair stations. It further provided a maximum charge of three dollars for a single dispatch of ten words, and stipulated that this was not to be regarded as an exclusive grant.[7]

---

[6] *Harper's Weekly,* IV (March 24, 1860), 182.

The builders had not waited; they anticipated eventual favorable action by Congress and were preparing. Western Union men particularly were active. That company, soon after its organization, gained ownership or control of all lines west of Buffalo and Pittsburgh and had through connections between New York and St. Louis. Looking west they discovered that Charles M. Stebbins had, in 1857, become owner of the St. Louis and Missouri River Telegraph Company, of which he had been superintendent but which had become bankrupt the previous year. They saw, also, that Stebbins had built a profitable line to Kansas City by 1858, and was planning further extensions. So by promises and threats Wade persuaded Stebbins to sell a majority of his stock to Western Union men for $12,000, regarded by him as an insignificant sum.[8]

Stebbins's success in building up his line had been due to his arrangements with railroads and to the system of subsidies of his own making. His agent would go into a town to which it was proposed to build a line, and persuade the citizens that for so great a boon as a telegraph connection with the rest of the world financial contributions were but fitting and proper. These contributions were payable one-half when the poles were in place, the remainder when the line was in operation. For the money the company issued scrip which could be used in payment for messages. Thus the company would have subscribed all the money needed to build the line, and enough more to keep going until the scrip was almost used up. By that time normal operations were regularly profitable.[9] Brokers traded in this scrip just as they did in land warrants, as the advertisements of the Kountze Brothers in the *Omaha Daily Telegraph* in 1861 reveal. The Kountzes had helped raise and collect the $5,000 subscribed by Omahans. In return for this service Augustus Kountze got the contract to supply poles for Stebbins in Nebraska.[10]

---

[7] *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, 481. Two articles in the *Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series,* one by Jane March Parker, "How Men of Rochester Saved the Telegraph," V (1926), 121-134, and Hiram W. Sibley, "Memoirs of Hiram Sibley," II (1923), 127-134, are interesting accounts of Sibley and the Rochester group.

[8] Charles M. Stebbins, *New and True Religion and Autobiography,* third edition, New York, 1898, 308.

[9] Henry M. Porter, *Pencilings of an Early Western Pioneer,* Denver, 1929, 10.

[10] *Ibid.,* 13; letter of Robert C. Clowry, March 17, 1904, quoted in J. Sterling Morton et al., *Illustrated History of Nebraska,* 3 vols., Lincoln, Nebraska, 1906-1913, I, 99n.

During 1859 the Stebbins line was extended to Fort Smith, Arkansas. It was intended to follow the Butterfield stage route on to Sherman, Texas, Tucson, and Fort Yuma to connect with wires coming east from Los Angeles. This project was undertaken on the assumption that Congress would stipulate this route for any telegraph to the Pacific which it would subsidize. Neither Stebbins nor Porter made any mention of Creighton in their accounts of the building of the line to Fort Smith. But according to Mullens he arranged for the building of the line[11] and reported to J. H. Wade and other Western Union men that both this route and one planned from Memphis to Colorado were undesirable.[12]

On April 18, 1860, Stebbins and his Western Union associates secured the incorporation of the Missouri and Western Telegraph Company with Stebbins as president and treasurer, Creighton as general agent, and Clowry as secretary and superintendent. Isaac Elwood, Anson Stager, and J. H. Wade were among the incorporators. In May these same men became officers and directors of the St. Louis and Missouri River Company, and on August 1, the latter's whole property was leased to the Missouri and Western.[13]

But Congress did not stipulate southern routes; Creighton had reported against them, so the Missouri and Western shifted, in 1860, to the central route. This was the route to Pike's Peak and to Utah, the route dramatized by the Pony Express. But while the Pony Express cut across the plains from St. Joseph, the telegraph went through that town and up the river to Brownville, Nebraska City, and Omaha, and then west by way of Florence and the Mormon Trail to Fort Kearney. An office was opened in Omaha on September 10, 1860, and Fort Kearney was connected up in time to receive by wire the news of Lincoln's election.[14]

---

[11] Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 13.

[12] Reid, *Telegraph in America,* 493.

[13] *Ibid.,* 619; Carlyle N. Klise, "The First Transcontinental Telegraph" (M. A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1938), 38-39.

[14] Some indication of how rival claims and failure to distinguish the several phases of the work have complicated and confused the history of telegraph building, may be gleaned from the accounts of the construction of the line from St. Joseph to Omaha. Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 13, says Creighton built the line between those cities; Frank J. Burkley, *The Faded Frontier,* 288, says Creighton had the contract for the line between St. Joseph and Brownville; a *History of Nebraska,* Western Historical Society, c. 1882, 1203, tells of Creighton and one of the Kountze brothers arranging for the building of the line to Nebraska City where an office was opened September 18, 1860; Clowry, *loc. cit.,* says that he (Clowry) built the line from St. Joseph to Omaha, that he secured the subscriptions, and that he and the Kountzes collected the $5,000 in Omaha; Porter, *Pencilings,* 11, says, "I built the line . . . to Omaha." Porter was foreman of construc-

With the wires up to Fort Kearney by November 1860, a fine start had been made, but the remainder of the route had to be surveyed, and the California companies then rushing their lines eastward had to be brought in on the enterprise. Once more Creighton was called on to make the survey, while Wade, accompanied by Bee of the Placerville-Humboldt, went to California by steamer to arrange things at the far end. Creighton left Omaha, November 18, 1860, going by stage through Julesburg, Fort Laramie, and South Pass, to Salt Lake City, where he arrived December 15. The following item from the *Deseret News* describes not only his arrival but also the technique of surveying.

> Edward Creighton, esq., the agent of the Pacific telegraph line, arrived here by last mail stage, on Saturday, and is still in the city, seemingly a little puzzled whether to carry the line through Salt Lake City or by way of Santa Fe. He has visited Governor Young, but, I think, failed to particularly interest the gentleman personally in the enterprise. Mr. Creighton already learned that the Mormon chief's example as a shareholder would influence the community, and without it few shares would be taken here. Unless some such encouragement is given, Mr. C. thinks it very doubtful that the telegraph line will pass through this city, for a time at least. He is receiving proposals for supplying poles for 400 miles east and the same west, but makes no contracts till further informed by his associate agent who went round by the Isthmus to California, as to matters there.

Creighton did succeed in interesting Young, and got his promise of assistance, which proved essential during the construction of the line, especially the part west of Salt Lake City.[15]

Wade, on the other hand, seems to have encountered some

---

tion for the Missouri and Western, Clowry was general superintendent, Creighton was general agent; the Missouri and Western was owned by Stebbins and Western Union; so Sibley, Wade, Stebbins, Creighton, Clowry, and Porter, to say nothing of a few teamsters and pole setters, built the line.

[15] The inventory of Edward Creighton's estate lists among his assets an item "Brigham Young, Note . . . $100,000." Harry Stevens, in an article, "My Kingdom for a Horse" in the *Montana Farmer,* August 15, 1937, writes that Creighton loaned Young $100,000 in two notes for $50,000. In a letter to the author, dated February 27, 1940, Stevens says William Paxton, Sr., told him Creighton made the loan while resting in Salt Lake on this ride. Klise, *First Continental Telegraph,* 88, says the Overland Telegraph Company gave Young $20,000 of stock as a good will gesture. I have not seen the note, but doubt that Edward Creighton was able to advance that amount on his own account in 1860. He had many dealings with Young through the coming years, and the occasion for such a loan might have arisen easily. But A. W. Lund, assistant church historian, wrote, in a letter to the author, dated Salt Lake, May 9, 1940: "I have made a second search through our records but can find no account of President Brigham Young receiving 20,000 shares of Telegraph stock. Neither do I find any account of the $100,000.00 transaction you mention."

trouble in California, and wrote an urgent appeal to Creighton to join him. Creighton now started his famous ride to Carson City, Nevada. It was a six hundred mile trip through the valley of the Humboldt and over the Sierra Nevadas, made for the most part by a solitary horseman, little acquainted with the route. It was mid-winter and the wind drove sand, alkali, and snow into the eyes and ears of the traveler. Three times the skin peeled from his face. He stumbled into Carson City after twelve days, snow-blind and half dead. It had been a severe test of his physical and moral stamina. But he had acquired valuable information, and after a short rest rode on to join Wade. Creighton was confident the route was practicable, and was willing to undertake construction, hence, when the California companies still refused to cooperate, Wade and he began letting contracts for materials. The light was seen; the several California companies were merged into the California State Telegraph Company, which in turn organized the Overland Telegraph Company to handle actual construction. An agreement was reached by which the Overland would build east to Salt Lake City, and the Pacific Telegraph Company would build from Brownville, Nebraska, to the same place. The agreement provided for division of the receipts, and included a bonus to be paid by the losers to the party first reaching Salt Lake.[16]

The Pacific Telegraph had been incorporated in Nebraska, January 11, 1861, to take over Sibley's contract. Wade was president, Sibley, vice president. The incorporators were predominantly Western Union men. Creighton had 100,000 shares, one-tenth of the company's capital of a million dollars, representing a cash investment of $18,000. Wade and Creighton left California by steamer March 27, 1861, arriving in New York April 12. May 23 Creighton reached Omaha with the contract to build the line from Julesburg to Salt Lake, and immediately started gathering men, animals, and materials. Stebbins, Clowry, and Porter had already begun preparations to extend their line from Fort Kearney to Julesburg. The Missouri and Western Company had a contract to build from Brownville to Julesburg, Stebbins and Western Union being equal partners; Brownville was to be the eastern terminus of the Pacific Telegraph Company.[17]

---

[16] Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 15-16. His explanation and description of this famous ride seem the most satisfactory.

[17] The dates of departure and arrival in the above are from the *Omaha Daily Telegraph* of April 2, April 16, and May 25, 1861. Stebbins describes his contract in his *Autobiography,* 374.

The *Omaha Daily Telegraph* of May 29, 1861, has these two illustrative items:

> H. M. Porter, Esq., the local Superintendent of the Stebbins' Telegraph Line at this place, started twelve wagons yesterday, loaded with wire and insulators, to be left for the present at Cottonwood Springs. Mr. Porter will soon return and carry the remainder of his materials for extending the telegraph line from Ft. Kearney to Julesburg—a distance of two hundred miles west from Kearney, which Mr. R. [sic] will superintend.

The other reads:

> E. Creighton, Esq., the general Superintendent and Agent of the Stebbins' and Pacific Lines, is here awaiting eighty wagons which he will load with telegraphic material to continue the line from Julesburg to Salt Lake, where he will meet the line from California. He has already received about one hundred and sixty tons of telegraph material, and intends to freight a sufficient quantity to furnish the line to Salt Lake. He thinks the Line will be finished through to California by next winter.

Three days later the same paper reports Creighton's purchase of fifteen wagons and about ninety yoke of oxen for $8,000 cash. On June 2 it carried these items: "On account of storm along the telegraph line we were unable to get a full report." And: "The first of E. Creighton's train left yesterday, numbering twenty wagons, with an average of 5600 lbs. of telegraph freight." Similar items during the following weeks report the departure of other units of Creighton's train, the while gratefully acknowledging the benefits accruing to Omaha. And from the middle of June on, the paper decries indignantly the destruction of lines in Missouri by the confederates. While one system was raided, another was rushed to completion.

Creighton himself left Omaha June 17, and arrived in Julesburg June 25, driving a span of mules, "Mary" and "Jane," of which he was very fond, and a light but strong concord buggy.[18] He was accompanied by James Brown, and on the last day overtook the latter's brother Charles, whom Creighton had hired to keep accounts, write letters, and make himself generally useful for $50.00 a month. This is how he made himself useful one day:

---

[18] Charles R. Brown, "My Experiences on the Plains in 1861 in Assisting in the Construction of the First Telegraph Line across the Continent." Original manuscript in the Library of the Western Union Company, New York, New York. Mr. W. H. Deppermann kindly provided me with a copy of this, as well as helping in securing information on many other points. Since the important sections are in diary form, reference to it will be by date.

> After writing some letters for Creighton on business matters, took an ax and went and helped the men chop poles. Ed staid with us during the day and night.[19]

Charles Brown had left Omaha the day before Creighton did, taking the stage to Fort Kearney and joining emigrant trains the rest of the way. He was trudging along on foot when his employer overtook him. Brown has left a succinct description of Julesburg as it was that day in June when they arrived to start building a telegraph line.

> Julesburgh is on the south side of the Platte and is about 200 miles west of Fort Kearney and 400 from Omaha. It derives its name from a Frenchman named Jules who for years has been an Indian trader. There are six buildings in this city. One store or trading house, one dwelling house or stage station, and four sheds and barns. These structures are large and commodious and well-adapted to the purpose for which they are used, and are built of logs. The stages for California diverge from the Denver route at this point and run to Fort Laramie, South Pass, Salt Lake, Virginia City, Sacramento and then to San Francisco.

July 4, 1861, is the date generally given for the beginning of construction at Julesburg. One might wish that were true, but Brown has this entry under date of July 2:

> We commenced the construction of the telegraph line today. The starting point was from the office established in the station house at Julesburgh. We set fifteen poles and stretched the wire across the river. Aside from helping Ed Creighton dig the first hole I had nothing to do with this day's work in building the line except in taking the tall spliced pole across the river and assist in setting it. The wire was carried across the river on three poles—two tall poles, one on each bank of the river and one on an island in the river. These two tall ones were made from splicing two or more together.

Creighton remained at Julesburg the next two days giving practical advice to the construction crews and setting up a telegraph office in charge of a Mr. Reynolds.

On the 5th, Creighton left to check workers gathering poles at various places along the line and to explore for additional sources of these essential articles, driving his favorite mules and concord buggy. It is almost impossible to keep track of his movements from this time till the line was completed, for he was constantly on the go, locating poles, assigning crews to get them out, hurrying back to push forward supplies, and hastening the digging. A good idea of Edward Creighton on this job may be gathered from some random entries of Brown. Under date of June 29 he writes:

---

[19] *Ibid.,* July 26, 1861.

> Ed. Creighton is jolly and apparently having a good time, "but like Paddy's owl he keeps up a devil of a thinking" on the great task before him. Ed. has a great head and there is a great deal in it; and what is more, he knows how to use all there is therein.

On July 18: "Ed. is a steam engine of energy and has wonderful powers of endurance, and the enterprise he now has in hand virtually compels him to be ubiquitous." Another on July 26 is characteristic: "Mr. Creighton came into camp with our mule team bright and early, while we were taking our breakfast. He considered it a great joke on Hazard's."

Poles presented the greatest problem. None could be found near Julesburg, but in the canyons around Cottonwood Springs, about a hundred miles east, were many groves of red cedar from which could be made poles that were very durable but very crooked and unsightly. Brown's diary for the end of June and early July refers almost daily to the arrival of crews with poles from Cottonwood, and their immediate return for more. He noted that the round trip took about nine days. Poles for practically all the line from Julesburg to Old Fort Laramie were hauled from Cottonwood Springs. There is a jubilant tone to Brown's entry of July 18: "J. C. ["Long Jim" Creighton] and J. McC. [John McCreary] found poles in abundance at the base of Laramie Peak and easy of access." On August 6 Brown reports that "Long Jim" had already cut and distributed from that place 1,075 number one poles, and then had cut and shaved, ready for hauling, about 450 more. Brown had already dubbed the camp "Camp Industry." Little wonder Edward Creighton learned to rely on his cousin.

The poles were distributed from the wagons at places marked beforehand by a small hole and a mound of earth every 70 to 73 paces. If the ground was level about twenty good poles were made to do for a mile; though the average was about twenty-five, the poles none too close together. Still, poles were very scarce for the first part of the line.

In his entry of July 10 Brown explains how the work was organized, and the difficulty of recording accurately the daily progress of the several crews or of the line itself. The entry reads:

> We are now settling down into good hard work and the building of the line will progress from this time forward rapidly. The trains of Guy and Dimmock are at work in the bluffs and canyons on Pumpkin Creek about 8 miles southwest of here. [Mud Springs, which was 64 miles beyond Julesburg.] Hazard's are over near Chimney Rock on the Lawrence Fork. [Chimney Rock was twenty-five miles from Mud Springs.] Hibbard has charge of the construction squad of our men and is now working his way up Pole Creek. Ragan and Chrismen's trains are hauling poles from Cottonwood and Julesburgh and distributing through Pole Creek Valley. Joe Creighton's train is somewhere east of Julesburgh. . . . Jim Creighton is pushing to the west with rapidity and will commence cutting and distributing poles somewhere in the hills west of Ft. Laramie. John A. Creighton with a small train is coming on from Denver to join us. Soon all the different divisions of our entire force will be at work on the construction of the line.

Thus, while the general scene of groups of men laboring at different points along the route is clear, it is almost impossible to trace the daily work accomplished, even though outer stations were set up at intervals as sections were joined. In this connection several published accounts make the error of saying that the outer station of Creighton's line on August 9 was fifty miles west of Fort Kearney.[20] But on August 5 Brown recorded how on that day Creighton connected a transmitter and sent messages east, and in the afternoon Creighton and Hibbard demonstrated to a group of Cheyenne Indians the shocking potentialities of several batteries and a strand of wire, after which they quickly got their lodges out of the way of the line. The concluding note is: "When we quit work that night our telegraph was complete to three miles west of Fort Laramie."

Progress became more rapid daily, and, with a crew working east from Salt Lake City toward Fort Bridger, the gap closed quickly. On October 17 Creighton's line was complete to Salt Lake; he sent the following telegram to his wife:

> Fort Bridger, 17 Oct. 1861
>
> To Mrs. E. Creighton
>
> This being the first Message over the line since its completion to Salt Lake allow me to greet you. In a few days Two oceans will be connected.
>
> E. Creighton.[21]

---

[20] Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves,* New York, 1936, 313; Klise, 50.

[21] In Mary Lucretia Creighton's scrapbook.

On the next day Brigham Young sent a congratulatory message to Wade at Cleveland, assuring Lincoln through Wade that "Utah has not seceded but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country." Creighton's men had won the race. Gamble's crews reached Salt Lake from the west on October 24. Chief Justice Field of California formally opened the transcontinental line with another reassuring message that must have been very welcome to the anxious President. How striking that in the darkest days of the Republic's history, while a battle was drawn between North and South, this line was fashioned to bind East and West.

The Pacific Telegraph proved profitable almost immediately, despite difficulties of maintaining uninterrupted service. Nature assaulted the line with snow, floods, and high winds; the Indians outgrew their early fears, and they, and renegades dressing as Indians, pulled down the wire and burned the poles; emigrants used the poles for firewood; buffaloes wore them away by their persistent rubbing; and in Missouri Confederate raiding parties systematically destroyed the line. Fortunately, the line in Missouri was in working order at the time the transcontinental connection was made, hence there was no interruption in the dispatching of the congratulatory messages. But within a week after the office was opened at San Francisco, the wires were down in Missouri. Consequently, the telegraph followed the example of the express and mail companies and changed the route to cross Iowa. By October 23, 1861, the route, Council Bluffs, Des Moines, Marshalltown, Cedar Rapids to the Mississippi, had been selected. On January 3, the telegraph across Iowa was completed.[22]

In 1863 the Pacific Telegraph Company trebled its capital. Creighton now had 300,000 shares, of which he sold one-third for $85,000. On March 17, 1864, Western Union absorbed the Pacific Telegraph on a share for share basis. Creighton remained as superintendent of the lines out of Omaha until February 1867, and for the next few years was a director of Western Union.

Creighton continued to build telegraph lines. In 1864 he built one from Julesburg to Denver and Central City, Colorado. Two years later he extended that line to Salt Lake; from there he erected one which reached Virginia City, Montana, in 1867, Helena in 1868, and Fort Benton in 1869. In the building of these latter lines John A. Creighton assumed most of the responsibilities of actual supervision. For the Union Pacific Edward built a line from North Platte to Monument Point. He had exerted his influence to have the Union Pacific make Omaha its eastern terminus, and in 1865 donated some town lots to aid the enterprise.

---

[22] Klise, "The First Continental Telegraph," 64-66.

When the gold rush to Montana started in 1863, Creighton, his brothers, and cousin "Long Jim" engaged in the very profitable freighting business to the mines. The same year he and the Kountzes organized the First National Bank of Omaha, of which he was principal stockholder and president until his death. He was one of the first to recognize the cattle-feeding possibilities of the plains, and maintained a large ranch near Laramie across the river from Coads ranch. He early discovered that cattle could survive a winter on the plains: "My first grazing in that country was the winter of 1859."[23] He erected one of the first substantial business buildings in Omaha, and advanced a large sum of money to make possible the completion of the Grand Central Hotel. He was also president of the Omaha and Northwestern Railroad. His growing wealth is attested to by items in the *Omaha Weekly Herald,* the first of which reports, September 10, 1868, that he paid an income tax of $17,488.77, the highest of Omaha residents; the other, April 6, 1870, announces his gross income for the year to be $65,000, the highest reported. His estate approximated two million dollars.

He died suddenly, November 5, 1874, victim of a paralytic stroke. On the 9th all business was suspended while Omaha mourned the loss of its first citizen, for his fellow citizens realized that God had called a man who had striven mightily to make Omaha the "Gate City to the West." But the humble mourned a man whose unostentatious charities had relieved many a stricken family. The Creighton University is grateful and proud to honor him as a founder, for it was in compliance with his wish that his widow made the bequest with which it was founded; the growth of the foundation was assured by the generosity of his brother, Count John A. Creighton.

P. Raymond Nielson

The Creighton University

---

[23] To Dr. H. Latham, April 15, 1870, quoted in Burkley, *op. cit.,* 284-286. An excerpt from this letter was printed in the *Omaha Weekly Herald,* June 8, 1870.

Book Reviews

The Continental Congress. By Edmund Cody Burnett. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. xvii, 757.

Few authors approach their subject with a background and qualifications equal to those of Dr. Burnett, whose apprenticeship included numerous articles on various aspects of the Continental Congress and the editing of the eight volumes of the *Letters* of its members. Hence he does not exaggerate when he observes that for a good many years he has dwelt on terms of intimacy with the men who stride through the pages of his substantial volume. Throughout this excellent study he moves with a sureness of foot that attests his erudition and begets confidence in his judgment. He makes no pretense to writing the history of the American Revolution; rather he strives to depict the Continental Congress as the "central figure of the Revolutionary scene" and to make clear "whereunto the Congress had been called and to what degree it fulfilled its mission." He professes to restrain whatever bias his years of study may have engendered; he disclaims all intention of enlarging on the virtues or faults of those whose words and actions he records. Briefly he sets down the events which led to the summoning of the Congress, and then he follows that body from its opening session to its eventual displacement by the new government established under the Constitution.

Careful reading of these pages suggests that the majority of the members of Congress did not lack good intentions, but, as Hamilton observed to Washington, they lacked wisdom and decision. Too frequently they moved in the realm of the purely academic, and too often they contented themselves with halfway measures which in the circumstances amounted to dodging the issue. In part this was due to chronic change in the personnel of state representation, and to the scanty attendance of the delegates. Thus, according to Rufus King, in one period of six months a quorum was on hand only three days. Another root cause of the inefficiency of the Congress was its limited power. It could not coerce any state; it could only urge, exhort, and entreat refractory or apathetic members of the Confederation; it lacked the means to implement its decisions; thus circumscribed it is a wonder that a sense of futility did not overwhelm all of the members. One cannot but admire the steadfastness of those, chief among them Secretary Thomson, who through nine long years, continued to work under such disheartening conditions.

But the members of the Congress were not wholly blameless. Too many of them, in voicing the sentiments of their states, displayed an astonishing degree of indifference to the needs of the nation and a corresponding attachment to state interests and rights. Without qualms they subordinated national issues to petty state or personal rivalries and jealousies. Factions abounded: a pro-French and an anti-French bloc; a pro-Dane and a pro-Lee group; small states leagued against large states, New England against the south, commercial interests against agricultural. Intrigue and internal strife reduced Congress to the nadir of ineptitude, while the army, unable to lay hand on essential supplies, was condemned to inaction. In desperation stout-hearted Washington confessed to Congress that "it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer."

Dr. Burnett does not subscribe to the theory of Knollenberg that the Conway Cabal was "probably a myth." In his opinion Mifflin, Lovell, and Gates were most badly tarnished but the Adamses did not escape without stain. He admits that a garbled excerpt of Conway's letter to Gates came into the hands of Washington; he grants that Conway was "probably more sinned against than sinning" and was the "victim of a not unscrupulous bunch of schemers," but he insists that he was no less the victim of "his own unbridled tongue."

In the preface the author indulges the hope that "wayfaring readers" will venture within "the orbit of his narrative." How many of this class will turn to this volume? Certainly few will have the perseverance to carry them through the more than seven hundred pages of a book whose appeal is chiefly to scholars. We hazard the guess that "addicts of modern historiography" as Burnett designates them, will greatly outnumber the "wayfaring readers." In that case why the tender solicitude for the few he hopes to attract, why the concern to "clear their path of every obstacle such as footnotes against which they might stub an unoffending toe"? No scholar will question the erudition or accuracy of Dr. Burnett, but as he reads these pages he will wish references directing him in further investigation of a point.

Charles H. Metzger

West Baden College, Indiana

Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876. By William Chauncy Langdon. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. xv, 398.

In this volume as in its predecessor which embraced the colonial period, William Chauncy Langdon approaches the history of our nation from the interesting point of view of the everyday things which, by their necessity and utility, came to be vital cogs in the American way of living and as such the symbols of our country's proud progress. Obvious and thorough research permits the author to marshall his material expertly, and a definite chronology is cleverly achieved.

In his first book Mr. Langdon found that the colonial era was primarily one of settlement, in consequence of which the everyday things of the time were those connected with the home. In this study of the ordinary things in American life during the first century of our independence, he notes that life revolved more and more around transportation as our growing nation burst out of its colonial borders and swept across the plains and mountains in the remarkable expansion westward. Thus, a goodly portion of the book is concerned with the numerous types of river craft, Conestoga wagons, stagecoaches, and trains, as well as the rivers, canals, roads, turnpikes, bridges, and railways over which those means of transportation moved.

It is an intimate and occasionally exciting account, related with an exceptional charm which carries the reader pleasantly back into that century which must always stand as the supreme period in the growth and the unification of our country. The strong appeal of that epoch is an important overtone through the whole volume: the simple but rugged life of the people, the romance of the westward movement which opened up so many new fields of activity, the spirit of individual initiative which exploited steam and other things for industry, agriculture, and transportation—in short, the saga of the expansion, development, and maturity of a great nation. Anyone inclined to take too casually our modern conveniences of living will almost surely be roused by this book from such a complacent attitude and will no doubt emerge with an appreciation of the long struggles through which many of our commonplace things of today were evolved.

More than one hundred and fifty well-chosen and frequently rare illustrations provide a rich accompaniment to the text. The book also includes a bibliography, a complete index, and in the end-pages an interesting drawing of the grounds of the Centennial Fair in Philadelphia in 1876.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame

Indian-Fighting Army. By Fairfax Downey. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. 329.

The title of this latest book by Fairfax Downey indicates the limited scope of its subject: the United States Army in its campaigns against the Indians, between the years 1865 and 1891. It is a careful and accurate account, yet popular in style and presentation, sketching the history of the Army in a succession of vignettes of the chief Indian uprisings and the consequent Army campaigns. It is handsomely illustrated from drawings by Remington, Schreyvogel, and Zogbaum.

The reader will not get from this book anything approaching the full story of the Great West during those eventful years, nor even an adequate treatment of the relations between the Whites and the Indians. Its view is fixed upon the Army alone, with just enough incidental references to the larger framework of men and events to make the Army's work intelligible. Yet these references are so honest and reasonable that they keep the book from being a mere partisan record or sentimental eulogy of the Army.

Mr. Downey writes with understanding and nostalgic sympathy about an Army to which he is closely bound both by heredity and by personal experience; but he does not conceal the impression that the old Army was made up of fine fellows who were committed to doing a rather dirty job, and that morally the Indians often had the better of the argument. It was White political skulduggery, as much at least as Indian contentiousness, which created the tasks of the Indian-fighting Army.

W. Kane, S. J.

Loyola University Library

Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French. By Rita Wellman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. 326.

Eugénie de Montijo was born in Spain and in Spain she died, a nonagenarian. A fortuneteller, gossip had it, had divined at her birth that Eugenie would grace a royal throne and would live to a hundred years of age. It is this story, covering almost a century of important European history, which Rita Wellman tells us in a catchy, journalistic style. Eugénie did reach the imperial throne of France as the wife of Louis Napoleon, better known as Napoleon III. There she became part of the splendor, intrigue, and unconcealed revelry in the court of Napoleon III. Queen Victoria admired Eugénie, when the second French Empire was still externally imposing, and exchanged visits with her in Paris and London. After the French Empire fell Victoria pitied Eugénie and offered her England as a refuge. In this shelter the ex-empress lived almost to her death. A long list of celebrities come and go through the pages of the biography, each in varying degree of importance, sometimes inexplicable, such as the list of the women of demi-monde. In the portrayal of French life, there are expressions and innuendoes which challenge our sense of propriety and make unwholesome reading. Parenthetical sentences are many, and have the effect of a stage "aside," rather than the force of a straightforward narrative of the historian. There are also serious facts of history woven into the narrative, among them a behind-the-scenes account of Maximilian's Empire in Mexico, the building of the Suez Canal, Bismarck's foreign policy, and others. But the newer light shed on these great events is flimsy and trivial. A bibliography and an index close the volume. The biography, claiming no special merit as a scientific study, offers a psychological and feminine interpretation of French political and social life.

Joseph Roubik

Loyola University, Chicago

Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. By Salvador de Madariaga. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. 554.

The career of Hernán Cortés truly offers a worthy challenge to any biographer. It has everything that a writer might desire in attempting to portray the complexity of human nature. Human greatness and human weakness, success and failure, prudence and rashness, idealism and sinfulness, personality, adventure, and a dozen more traits, all are contained in the character of this extraordinary mortal. Francisco Pizarro conquered a vaster and a wealthier empire, but fortunate circumstances and Cortés's example rather than greater ability gave him the advantage. There are few, if any, human achievements to equal and none to surpass the deeds of Hernán Cortés and his valiant band in their conquest of Mexico. Therefore, Señor Madariaga has for his subject one of the world's "greats."

Less preoccupied with a thesis or series of theses than he was in his earlier biographical effort on Columbus, the author has, in that measure, given us a better and more solid work. From a documentary point of view he has added little, if anything, that is new. In his use of familiar documents, coupled with his greater ability to analyze the character of one of his countrymen, lies the merit of the study. As long as Madariaga stays close to the documents and checks a very human tendency to read thoughts and motives into his hero's mind, the portrayal is good, even if occasionally tinged with overenthusiasm and overeagerness to pardon moral lapses and to extenuate culpability. The justification offered for some of the less pretty pages of the hero's life-story is that of a worshiper rather than of a careful critic. The end never justifies the means, no matter how great or exalted or desirable or even seemingly necessary that end may be.

That Madariaga has brought the great *conquistador* back to life in his pages, no one will deny. However, there are times when one will question if the author's Cortés is always the real one. Yet many real services have been done the memory of Cortés and his fellow Spaniards. To mention a notable one—the religious side of the *conquistador* character is given a place too often denied it in the works of less understanding biographers. On this score the author knows his Spaniards and rightly gives credit where credit is due. Were more writers capable of recognizing and willing to admit this deep Catholicism not only in the conquerors but also in modern Latin America, Pan-Americanism might cease to be such a thing of fine words and become more of a reality.

The events of the day and the ideology to which the author and all of us are devoted have caused a rather loose and misleading use of the word "democracy" and its derivatives. Democracy is much more than a matter of asking opinions or even of allowing a certain few trusted persons a share in policy-making. One or other inaccuracy might be noted: modern opinion favors the date 1519 as that of the execution of Balboa, rather than Herrera's 1517; the title for Chapter Five, "Love and Revolt in Española," presumably is a slip for "Love and Revolt in Cuba." This does not exhaust the list, but let it suffice. Besides a carefully prepared general index, there is a most helpful special index for Cortés. In this last the author sets an example that biographers might well follow.

John F. Bannon

St. Louis University

Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira). By Serafim Leite, S. J. Companhia Editora Nacional, São Paulo, 1940. Pp. 344.

Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heróica e a Sua Obra Literária. By Serafim Leite, S. J. Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1940. Pp. 251.

These two documentary volumes, from the prolific pen of the leading Portuguese authority on the Jesuits in colonial Brazil, are a contribution of fundamental importance to our knowledge of the social and cultural history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Brazil. The first volume is divided into three parts: "Letters of Manuel da Nóbrega, 1552-1567"; "Miscellaneous Jesuit Letters, 1552-1607"; "Letters of Antonio Vieira, 1656-1690." All of these letters, uncovered by the assiduous Jesuit scholar in the archives of Rome and Portugal, are published here for the first time. As the author points out, they represent a cross-section of a mass of similar Jesuit letters and relations, which rest in the Jesuit archives of Rome for the most part, and which have never been published nor utilized by students of colonial Brazil.

The Brazilian Academy, in 1931, published in a single volume thirty-one Nóbrega letters, all of those known at that time. Leite adds fifteen more, thus enriching by one-third the total of published letters of the founder of the Jesuit province in Brazil. They shed much new light not only on the story of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil, but also on the general Brazilian scene of the period. The remarkable frankness and objectivity of Nóbrega's letters, and the broad scope of their contents, make it necessary to classify them as basic documents of the period. The six "Miscellaneous Letters" also belong to the heroic phase of the formation of Brazil; their authors are: Luiz da Grã, companion and successor to Nóbrega; Leonardo Nunes, the first apostle of São Paulo; João de Azpilcueta Navarro, who accompanied the pioneer Portuguese expedition to Minas; Pero Correia, member of the first Jesuit expedition to Paraguay; and Jerónimo Rodrigues, author of the extraordinary letter of 1607 describing the region of the present state of Rio Grande do Sul. The Grã letter to St. Ignatius, written from Baía in 1553, reveals its author as one of the important sources for some of the later writings of Anchieta and Cardim. Vieira's letters, which are not only important historical documents, but also recognized masterpieces of Brazilian literature, long have been published in various important collections. Leite adds nine more letters written in the vernacular by the great seventeenth-century Jesuit. These letters deal primarily with Jesuit activities in Maranhão during the last half of the seventeenth century.

In the *Luiz Figueira* volume, Leite has gathered together the previously published writings of the author of the famed *Arte da Língua Brasílica,* and pioneer Jesuit missionary of Maranhão and Grão Pará, as well as several hitherto unpublished Figueira writings. The book is divided into two parts: a factual, well-documented biographical study of Figueira's life and work (pp. 19-86), followed by the documents (pp. 87-234). It is an epic story, for Figueira's work in Brazil's far north in the first half of the seventeenth century was but a later repetition of the pioneer activities of the first Jesuits in the coastal region between Pernambuco and São Paulo. Some of the documents touch on the Brazilian province in general, but in the main they elucidate the history of the beginnings of that nobly conceived and administered Jesuit "republic" in the far north of seventeenth-century Brazil which by 1693 consisted of fifty-five Jesuit Indian *aldeias* or mission establishments. Figueira stands forth as the founder of the missions of Maranhão, the successor of Anchieta in the study of the Tupi language, and the author of a group of letters and relations which constitute a basic source for the early history of Maranhão and Grão Pará.

Both volumes are full of suggestive notes, are well indexed, and in every way represent the highest standards of modern scholarship.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. 1937 Volume, *The Constitution Prevails;* 1938 Volume, *The Continuing Struggle for Liberalism;* 1939 Volume, *War—and Neutrality;* 1940 Volume, *War—and Aid to Democracies.* Compiled and collated by Samuel I. Rosenman. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. 2902.

These four volumes may well be put down as among the indispensables. They are a continuation of the five books of public utterances of the President of the United States which covered his two terms as Governor of New York and his first presidential term. The present set contains in chronological order all important public papers and addresses, the valuable documents of the past four years, selected with a view to bringing out national and international trends and illustrative of types of Executive statements, proclamations, chats, and press conferences. Many of the items are annotated by the President, who also wrote the special Introduction to each volume. The Topical Table designed to guide the reader to a unified discussion of a particular broad subject, such as Agriculture, Banks and Banking, is exceedingly helpful. The indexing and format follow the high standard of the preceding volumes, and the printing, too, is worth commenting on for its artistry.

No one will gainsay that these materials pertain to a period of tremendous change in our national and international affairs. They denote in their entirety a shrewd awareness on the part of the President of the aims of foreign totalitarianism and a keen appreciation on his part of a world divided between the oriental and democratic ideologies. The menace of the aggressor nations and the warnings to this nation against their policies, harbingers of international lawlessness, stand out in many pages all too clearly now that direct aggression has come. In the Introductions one can read of the President's efforts to establish peace, his appeals for disarmament and non-aggression, his warning of the menace of war, and in 1938-1939 his loss of hope in the European situation. Then the machinery for defense had to be set in motion.

Mr. Rosenman and his assistants deserve much praise for their tireless work in organizing these documents for presentation. Teachers will be grateful for the volumes both as reference works for their students and for the preparation of lectures. Scholars will use them liberally; they will note that the private and unpublished letters of the President are being carefully collected, eventually to be housed in the Hyde Park Library for use of research students of the future. The total of statements public and private of Franklin D. Roosevelt already begin to loom as a narrative of a great turning point in history. The major divisions of the narrative are indicated by the titles of these and the preceding volumes. The next volumes will tell the climax and the beginning of the new era.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 2 **APRIL 1942**

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

DEMOCRACY AS UNDERSTOOD BY THOMAS JEFFERSON . . . . *Louis Martin Sears* 85

EDWARD L. DOHENY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT IN MEXICO . . . . . *Fritz L. Hoffmann* 96

LUIS DE VALDIVIA, DEFENDER OF THE ARAUCANIANS . . . . *Beatrice Blum* 110

NOTES AND COMMENT 138

BOOK REVIEWS 141

MURPHY, *Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi;* CLARKE, *Emigres in the Wilderness;* MCKEE, *The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit;* KOHT, *Norway Neutral and Invaded;* HARNEY, *The Jesuits in History. The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries.*

MANAGING EDITOR
JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 2

Democracy as Understood by Thomas Jefferson

Immortality is the reward of those who, like Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, identify themselves with principles that do not die. The character acquires the undying nature of his ideals. As long as conservatism maintains a following in these United States, the soul of Alexander Hamilton goes marching on. Equally, while the democratic principle persists, Jefferson holds aloft the torch of freedom. Neither the conservatism of Hamilton nor the liberalism of Jefferson is a static ideal. Both suffer a sea change into something rich and rare. But in some form they do persist, and each statesman has thus acquired an immortality which even utmost talents would have missed or forfeited had they been identified with more ephemeral interests.

Jefferson the democrat still lives, therefore, however far his followers may wander from the patterns of democracy which were to him inevitable. For Jefferson was as certainly as lesser men the child of time and place. The eighteenth century had its peculiar flavor, and the patriarchal state of a Virginia country gentleman determined the locale. The Squire of Monticello, born to freedom and cherishing it intensely, would not and could not define his first love in the same terms as could and would Jean Jacques Rousseau copying music in a Parisian garret.

Quite conceivably Thomas Jefferson in his Virginia manor house might have developed the philosophy of George William Fairfax or other Tory neighbors, but if he turned toward freedom, as of course he did, it must be to the spacious freedom of a landsman, uncrowded by neighbors, remote from the mobs of cities, suspicious of mankind in the mass but trusting joyously in man's possibilities for improvement as an individual. In short,

---

Editor's Note. This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 25, 1941.

time, and more especially place, predetermined Jefferson to be the prophet of the free individual, the creator of a free state not its creature.

The state envisioned by the democrat of Jefferson's day was an instrumentality for the guaranty of political freedom and, through its patronage of education, for the enlargement of the personalities of its constituents. Thus it could not ignore entirely the responsibilities assumed by the modern socialized state, but its emphasis was consistently political.

Certainly Jefferson in prewar Virginia could not be expected to develop any large awareness of the problems presented to modern society by extremes of wealth and poverty. His own community had passed from the poverty of the frontier, which was incidentally the nursery and proving ground of individual survival values, into the modest prosperity of an agricultural economy wherein such wealth as had accumulated was on the whole equitably distributed, that is among the white men of Jefferson's time and place. Slavery was a problem, it is true, in the minds of Quakers, Moravians, and certain individual enthusiasts, and Jefferson was not indifferent to its social implications, but he never did conceive of liberty in terms of the black man. His vision of freedom, at least in his earlier years, was American freedom from British interference, and the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's supreme expression of his earlier philosophy, remains a highlight of political rather than of social democracy.

The catalogue of grievances, which Jefferson assembles in masterly fashion as warrant for the severing of ancient ties, contains not one item among its twenty-seven separate grounds for protest that modern democrats would regard as social. Jefferson's indignation is aroused by the failure of King George to govern fairly and efficiently, or, failing this, to give the colonists more leeway in their own administration. His abuse of the judiciary, his multiplication of office holders, his quartering of standing armies upon an unwilling populace, his levying of taxes without consent—these are among the iniquities of the British king. But not a hint is here (why should there be?) of social change within Virginia or any other colony. Freedom is the sole objective, freedom from the political tyranny of an unsympathetic administrator. So far the democracy of Thomas Jefferson was confined to the political.

In the ensuing Revolution, Jefferson's part remained more ideological than practical, save for his war governorship of his native state, which unhappily coincided with Arnold's treason and subsequent invasion of Virginia. Jefferson was forced to flee much as Madison fled Washington a generation later. The humiliation thus endured seared his very soul while at the same time it furnished ammunition for his political opponents then and later. It appreciably intensified his hatred for the Mother Country, confirming him still more definitively as a political revolutionist. Nor did subsequent adventures erase this prejudice. A brief tour of duty in England as minister left no such impression upon Jefferson as a previous sojourn had left with Franklin. So that it may be affirmed quite safely that the reaction of Great Britain upon Jefferson achieved not only its preliminary but virtually its final expression in political democracy.

For the extent that Jefferson ever became a social democrat, French influences more than British are responsible. The residence in Paris that cost him any major participation (save in some degree by correspondence) in the Constitutional Convention, deprived him of a share in a state paper which was as obviously as the Declaration of Independence a political document. It exposed him somewhat more directly to those broader revolutionary currents which gave the Revolution its immense historical significance. But even here, his personal acquaintance with the movement was limited to its earlier and bourgeois phases.

Before the lower orders obtained control, Jefferson was back at home as Secretary of State, and his communications with his successor, William Short, so well beloved that Short has been described as Jefferson's "adopted son," betray an irritable unwillingness to accept Short's descriptions of a movement that had succumbed to mob direction. Jefferson had no use for mobs, and he was unwilling to believe that so auspicious a beginning could degenerate so rapidly.

The high moment for Jefferson in the French Revolution was an evening in 1789 when Lafayette invited himself and seven friends to dine with him in the hope of drinking from the pure fount of democratic wisdom. In his *Autobiography,* written many years afterward, at the age of seventy-seven, Jefferson summarizes the occasion:

> The discussions began at the hour of four, and were continued till ten o'clock in the evening, during which time I was a silent witness to a coolness and candor of argument unusual in the conflicts of

political opinion; to a logical reasoning, and chaste eloquence, disfigured by no gaudy tinsel of rhetoric or declamation, and truly worthy of being placed in parallel with the finest dialogues of antiquity, as handed to us by Xenophon, by Plato and Cicero. The result was an agreement that the king should have a suspensive veto on the laws, that the legislature should be composed of a single body only, and that to be chosen by the people. This Concordate decided the fate of the constitution.[1]

Here as elsewhere Jefferson is a political scientist far more than an economist. To be sure he goes on to say that this arrangement will overthrow the aristocracy but there is no evidence even here that he regarded such a transformation as other than political.[2]

But if his British and French contacts reenforced his political democracy, one development within his native land turned Jefferson's thinking into channels more consistent with what we today might call social democracy. Even here the dividing line is not clear-cut. I refer to the Order of the Cincinnati. It was inevitable that veterans of the Revolutionary War should organize into a society to perpetuate the memories of camp and field. In this case it was the officers who formed the organization, and it was inevitable that they choose General Washington as their first president. The society was constituted on the principle of primogeniture, which to the radical or liberal mind of the day conveyed dark implications of an hereditary aristocracy awarding to itself permanent pensions and feeding henceforth at the public crib.

Before Washington accepted an honor fraught with such objections, he appealed to various friends, including Jefferson, for a candid opinion upon the proprieties involved. This was Jefferson's opportunity for a measured but eloquent expression of democracy in which, without attempting to dictate Washington's sentiments, he presented a cumulative list of objections.[3] Washington seems to have felt the cogency of Jefferson's arguments, but he could not dictate the entire proceedings of the Order and regardless of complete approval, it was inevitable that he accept the proffered honor. In the perspective of history the whole affair assumes the proportions of a teapot tempest.

In the "ministry of all the talents" assembled by George

---

[1] Paul Leicestor Ford, Ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson,* New York, 1905, I, 154-155.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.,* IV, 323-329.

Washington in his naïve assumption that all good men would think alike, Jefferson quickly found himself the chief dissenter. Pitting himself against the centralizing tendencies of Alexander Hamilton, whose theories of government were fashioned on the British model, Jefferson soon found himself the leader of an opposition party, whose rise does not concern the present paper beyond recognition that it was based primarily on a concept of democracy that kept government as close to the individual citizen as might be, with a minimum of authority delegated to the national administration.

Thus more than ever Jefferson became ideologically the patron of individualism in democracy. Beyond a steady opposition to Hamilton and all his works, and the more or less subterranean organization of a party cemented by an unwearied correspondence with men like-minded with himself, Jefferson gave the major expression to this individualistic democracy in the Kentucky Resolution of 1798, which remains his most formal contribution to the states' rights theory.

If social democracy is taken in its modern meaning, the Kentucky Resolution is a purely political document. Article One of the Federal Constitution declares that "to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself, the other party: That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common Judge, *each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.*"[4]

In this article alone is adumbrated the entire philosophy of the secession movement. Successive articles are equally constitutional or political, and it is difficult to accept the verdict of historians imbued with the socioeconomic philosophies of our own day that the Resolution is "not so much a constitutional as a social philosophy."[5] Definitions vary, but if political democracy has any meaning whatsoever as distinct from social democracy, then the Kentucky Resolution is political, and is evidence that as late as 1798, Jefferson's democracy was essentially political.

---

[4] Henry Steele Commager, Ed., *Documents of American History,* New York, 1935, 178-179.

[5] *Ibid.*

His concern in 1776 was freedom from Great Britain. His concern in 1798 was freedom from an encroaching federal government.

But the modern social historian may be permitted his own definitions. The Kentucky Resolution and its Virginia counterpart had undoubtedly social consequences. In themselves political, they carried the germs of the secession movement, many of whose aspects, of course, were social, as Jefferson was destined in due time to see. For his old age beheld the convulsions that terminated in the Missouri Compromise when, as he reported, he heard an "alarum bell" ringing in the night. Jefferson, the political philosopher, foresaw political convulsion from which a true social revolution was destined to emerge. If the American Revolution was predominantly political, the Civil War was predominantly social. Thomas Jefferson reached the halfway point between.

In his term as President, Jefferson confronted the active functioning of democracy. Official responsibility imposed a compromise with theory, and not only the Louisiana Purchase but even the enforcement of the commercial restrictions culminating in the embargo of 1808 were accompanied by a dramatic extension of the federal authority. Ideology confronting practical necessity involved Jefferson in various inconsistencies. How far the compulsion of events deflected him from *a priori* theory is open to conjecture. That it had some influence can scarcely be denied. Responsibility inevitably sobers. That his term in office actually reversed the thinking of a lifetime is not susceptible of proof. For a doctrinaire Jefferson became a surprisingly competent administrator. But doctrinaire he could do no other than remain, for he was always a philosopher at heart.

In the autumn of his life Jefferson erected, as he had been unable to erect in the busy years preceding, a philosophy fully mellowed, which aimed at perfection, as no philosophy worthy of the name can fail to aim. In this its finished form, Jefferson's philosophy conceived of life in terms of the individual. The individual was to attain his fullest stature through the medium of education, and Jefferson, who more than others had sponsored the land-grant clauses in the Ordinance of 1787, endowing for all time to come, as then was hoped, education in the Northwest Territory, was in retirement to establish the University of Virginia as the keystone of his arch for the attainment of perfection, personal and social.

Let him tell his own story in that inimitable correspondence with John Adams in which the two old friends, reunited after long misunderstanding, found in old age the sweetness of a perfect reconciliation. Offsetting the tediousness of age, Jefferson rejoices,

> I am fortunately mounted on a hobby, which, indeed, I should have better managed some thirty or forty years ago; but whose easy amble is still sufficient to give exercise and amusement to an octogenary rider. This is the establishment of a University, on a scale more comprehensive, and in a country more healthy and central than our old William and Mary, which these obstacles have long kept in a state of languor and inefficiency. But the tardiness with which such works proceed, may render it doubtful whether I shall live to see it go into action.[6]

This in 1823. Two years later and with death not distant, Jefferson wrote another friend, "Withdrawn by age from all other public services and attention to public things, I am closing the last scenes of life by fashioning and fostering an establishment for the instruction of those who are to come after us. I hope its influence on their virtue, freedom, fame and happiness, will be salutary and permanent."[7]

Probably the richest correspondence in American literature, the inimitable exchange between Jefferson and Adams in the sunset of their lives, affords an insight for which posterity is grateful into the philosophy of each. Jeffersonian democracy reaches its final and complete expression in these polished communications to his ancient friend, and if a choice is possible amid such riches, the palm belongs to the famous letter on aristocracy, dated from Monticello on October 28, 1813, in which Jefferson finds the true function of democracy to lie in affording a testing and proving ground for the only true aristocracy, the community of the best of which our race is capable.

Passing by man's command of animal reproduction in which selection leads to ever better breeds, Jefferson admits the impossibility of applying similar methods to man himself. Moreover, strength of body, the ancient measurement of aristocracy, has not survived the use of gunpowder. Wealth and birth, of course, are out for they are wholly artificial standards. Indeed, it is a major function of the state to separate the false from the true in aristocracy. In the accomplishment of this it is advisable to discount the importance of historic families and the dead hand of tradition—a point in which, thinks Jefferson, Virginia is more truly democratic than are Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the ancient families have acquired a dangerous ascendancy. Correspondingly, Virginia is more free than New England from the shackles of ecclesiastical tyranny. The Virginia clergy, secure in their fat livings, have never troubled to secure any genuine influence among the people. The same was true of landed aristocracy. The great landed families made the fundamental political mistake of paying court to royal governors for a seat in the King's Council, and now, thanks to Jefferson himself, through the abolition of entails, they have lost the means to perpetuate their wealth. Equally effective as a blow to artificial aristocracy were the other major laws of Jefferson's sponsoring, the abolition of primogeniture and the division of landed estates equally among the heirs, in the absence of a will.

---

[6] Ford, *Works of Thomas Jefferson,* XII, 313, October 12, 1823.

[7] *Ibid.,* XII, 408, April 3, 1825.

These were blows at pseudo-aristocracy. On the constructive side, the encouragement of true aristocracy, Jefferson had projected a plan which unfortunately was not adopted. By means of an educational system completely subsidized by the state, all children should be exposed to the rudiments of knowledge. But a weeding process would be accomplished by a series of hurdles, which only the superior might surmount. The final hurdle would insure a completely free education to the genuine aristocrats of the mind who had the capacity to drink from the deepest wells of knowledge.

Thus, in Jefferson's own summary,

> The law for religious freedom, which made a part of this system, having put down the aristocracy of the clergy, and restored to the citizen the freedom of the mind, and those of entails and descents nurturing an equality of condition among them, this on education would have raised the mass of the people to the high ground of moral respectability necessary to their own safety, and to orderly government; and would have completed the great object of qualifying them to select the veritable *aristoi,* for the trusts of government, to the exclusion of the pseudalists.[8]

Here, in this ripe expression of a completed philosophy, Jefferson blends the social with the individual. He will utilize education as a social force aimed primarily at the development of the individual—that superior individual who is simultaneously the outcome, the protector, and the transformer of society.

Thus we may leave him. Jefferson, the apostle of democracy, sought freedom first, freedom for the state against the foreign tyrant, freedom for the citizen against the encroachment of the state. So far the political democrat. But democracy did not stop there. The citizen must be secure in his development and qualified to choose his natural leaders. For the accomplishment of this the aid of social progress was invoked. Humbling the clergy, subduing intrenched aristocrats, separating chaff from wheat, Jefferson was in some sense a social democrat as well. True, he was never confronted with the social pressures of the expanding industrial revolution, and it is a mockery for the socialist state to erect monuments to a philosopher of individual freedom. Yet, who knows? In another age Jefferson might have fashioned a philosophy upon different patterns.

---

[8] *Ibid.,* XI, 341-350, especially 347.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

Purdue University

Edward L. Doheny and the Beginnings of Petroleum Development in Mexico

Twenty years ago, on December 6, 1921, here in Chicago, a distinguished looking man about sixty-five years of age with graying hair and full white mustache was addressing the American Petroleum Institute in its second annual convention. As he began his long speech he said:

> Owing to the comparatively recent discovery and development of oil in Mexico, it is justifiable, in judging its future, to give close consideration to the history of its past. For me to write such a history a largely personal narrative seems unavoidable.[1]

This statement sounds like the more or less pardonable vanity of a self-made business man. But during the first quarter of this century when Edward L. Doheny was interested in Mexican oil, he was the leading figure in the business. Curiously enough he went into Mexico at the height of foreign domination of the business life of that country, and he came out just as that supremacy, at least in oil, was for the first time being seriously threatened. From the moment his first Mexican well began to flow in 1901 to the time when he sold out his interests there in 1925, this lucky Irish-American prospector, who had once peddled crude petroleum from door to door to the amusement of Los Angeles,[2] controlled at all times the largest share of the Mexican oil business. Insofar as the beginnings of this industry can be said to have revolved around one man, that man was Edward Laurence Doheny.[3]

Doheny was trained for outdoor work by four years (1872-1876) in the government surveying service, following graduation from his hometown high school at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

This paper was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 30, 1941. Its author expresses deep appreciation and acknowledges his indebtedness especially to Dr. Robert G. Cleland, dean of Occidental College, and to Mr. Herbert G. Wylie, mentioned in the paper, who have given liberally of their time and private materials toward its completion.—Editor.

[1] Edward L. Doheny, "History and Future of the Oil Industry in Mexico," in *Mexican Petroleum,* Pan American Petroleum and Transport Company, New York, 1922, 13.

[2] Frank Hanighen and Anton Zischka, *The Secret War: The War for Oil,* London, 1935, 31.

[3] *Ibid.,* 129. Also, interviews with Herbert G. Wylie, September 8 and 11, 1941, in Los Angeles, and Anton Zischka, *La Lucha por el Petróleo,* Mexico City, n. d., 146.

He caught the fever of the Black Hills gold rush in 1876, but government restrictions kept him out of that land. So he turned to a prospecting venture in the San Juan mountain country of Colorado, which was cut short by an early winter. From here Doheny moved on to Prescott, Arizona, and to fourteen eventful years (1876-1890) as a gold hunter in the wilds of the southwest. Of robust nature, he took this period of development in his stride. His experiences there are part of the boom history of such camps as Bradshaw, Cave Creek, Tonto Basin, Globe, and Tombstone. In these years he needed little and he had little. In his own words, fifty dollars a year saw him through, with game plentiful and salt cheap. Yet he had many friends, for, later, old-timers of the Southwest were frequently amazed to find in Doheny, the world-famous oil operator, "that wild young Irishman" of their early companionship. Among these old-timers was one who became Doheny's lifelong friend and frequent business partner, C. A. Canfield, who in 1885 took a lease on the Mount Chief Mine in Kingston, New Mexico, owned by Doheny. In 1887 Doheny entered old Mexico for the first time looking for gold and silver, but a little later he returned to New Mexico and tried his hand at schoolteaching, which proved to be no bonanza either. Then enforced inactivity caused by a serious accident led him to study law. He was admitted to the bar of New Mexico and actually practiced law for about a year (1889-1890). To his exceptional ability in mathematics and his growing interest in geology he thus added a legal training which was to stand him in good stead. Mining was still his first love, however, and so, early in 1891 he turned west to try his luck in San Bernardino County, California.[4]

While on his way a chance meeting with his old friend Canfield resulted in the formation of the Pacific Gold and Silver

---

[4] Interview with Frank R. Seaver, former sales manager of the Doheny interests in Mexico and intimate friend of Doheny, Los Angeles, September 11, 1941; "Interview with Mr. E. L. Doheny, April 20, 1918," in the E. L. Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 10912, Interview 503, Occidental College Library; *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1935; *Investigation of Mexican Affairs, Senate Document No. 285,* 66 Cong., 2 Sess., Washington, 1920, I, 208 (hereinafter cited as *I. M. A.*); Ezequiel Ordóñez, "El Petróleo en México," *Revista Mexicana de Ingeniería y Arquitectura,* X, No. 3 (March 15, 1932), 152-153; *Who's Who in California, 1928-1929,* San Francisco, 1929, 55; *Who's Who in the Pacific Southwest,* Los Angeles, 1913, 119; *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* New York, 1930, Current Volume A, 499-500; *Press Reference Library (Southwest Edition),* Los Angeles, 1912, 355; Caspar Whitney, *Charles Adelbert Canfield,* New York (privately printed), 1930, 69.

Extracting Company,[5] one of many ventures in which these two men were associated until Canfield's death twenty-two years later.[6] But this enterprise of 1891 does not appear to have been very successful, for Doheny was often in arrears on his Los Angeles hotel bill.[7]

While sitting in front of his hotel one day, Doheny saw a wagon pass by loaded with a dark tar-like earth. He ran after it to ask the Negro driver what he was hauling. The driver answered that it was *brea* from the Westlake Park district to be used as fuel in an ice-plant. An inspection of the Westlake district, the famous Brea pits of Los Angeles, which have yielded many Pleistocene fossil pieces, convinced Doheny that he had found a new kind of "gold mine." A hurried call brought Canfield from the mines and another inspection led to the enterprise that was to develop into the great California oil industry of today. Failing to lease El Rancho de la Brea, Canfield and Doheny located a shaft on a lot purchased by them at the corner of West and Patton streets, near another oil seepage discovered by Doheny. By primitive mining methods they brought in their first well on November 4, 1892. They struck oil at 165 feet, a trickle of only seven barrels a day, which they pumped by hand and sold for about two dollars a barrel.[8] Thus began the development of the Los Angeles oil field,[9] which quickly overshadowed the small and rather localized petroleum industry in adjoining Ventura County.[10]

---

[5] Whitney, *Canfield,* 106-107; others of the company were M. M. Morrison, president, J. A. Chanslor, vice-president, Doheny, secretary, and J. B. Rentchler, treasurer.

[6] Canfield died on August 15, 1913, *ibid.,* 147. Concerning this relationship Canfield's son-in-law and biographer, Whitney, later wrote, perhaps too enthusiastically: "Such was the beginning of the business association of these two men, so different in their respective temperaments, so masterful each in his way and field: Mr. Canfield, the balance wheel of sound, unclouded judgment and ripe experience and deep understanding, whose widely established trustworthiness helped them to borrow large sums in those difficult years of the second phase of the Mexican venture on an extended scale; Mr. Doheny of marked business acumen and mining lore, shrewd and energetic, the dynamic general in the field. They appeared so fittingly to complement one another in the immense and daring enterprises upon which they subsequently embarked." *Ibid.,* 107-108.

[7] H. R. Wagner to Fritz L. Hoffmann, June 2, 1941. The hotel was run by W. H. Nimocks, former owner of the *Minneapolis Tribune.*

[8] Their methods were so primitive that they almost met death when part of the shafts caved in. They used a typical miner's shaft about six feet by four feet, timbered solidly with a partition separating ladder and bucketway. They dug with pick and shovel and hoisted dirt by means of a small horse hitched to a rope running over a pulley. The horse was led by Canfield's eleven year old son. *Id.* to *id.,* June 2, 1941; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 153; Whitney, 109-111, 151; *National Cyclopedia,* Current Volume A, 499.

[9] In all Doheny was responsible finally for 81 wells in the Los Angeles field whose aggregate production reached 350,000 barrels; *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1935.

There were still a few years of uncertainty owing to the problems of marketing. Small users were found readily enough.[11] but Doheny wanted the railroads to use his oil, a market which he did not secure for over five years. Meanwhile he and Canfield continued to search for new oil fields, sometimes separately and sometimes as partners.[12] Doheny prospected for oil as he had for gold, making frequent inspection trips and using a report of a state geologist who had located in person all the oil exudes in the state.[13] In this way Doheny was successful in opening several new fields. But the railroads were still doubtful that supplies would be adequate. To convince them, Doheny actually contracted to deliver Peruvian oil at San Diego at $1.25 a barrel should the California fields fail to produce sufficient quantities. When the latter did this, Doheny sold his Peruvian holdings, acquired as early as 1894, to the International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey.[14]

Successful experiments in substituting oil for coal on locomotives were made for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe in 1897 by Doheny, Canfield, E. A. Edwards, and A. P. Maginnis (who was later to begin Doheny's oil development in Mexico). The first attempt to use oil for fuel on ships had ended in a disastrous explosion in San Francisco harbor. Oil-driven locomotives had been attempted in the East but without success. Because of these failures it took several months of persuasion and hard work before the experiments of 1897 could be undertaken.[15]

---

[10] All told, by 1895, the central or Old Field had 308 producing wells, and by 1913 more than 2,300 had been drilled in Los Angeles field and of these nearly 1,000 had been abandoned. Derricks almost touched each other in places. John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy,* New Haven, 1926, 87-88; Whitney, 112; *National Cyclopedia,* 499.

[11] *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1935; also interview with H. G. Wylie, September 9, 1941.

[12] Whitney, 112-117.

[13] The geologist whose report of 1887 Doheny used was W. A. Goodyear; cf. Doheny, "History and Future of Oil Industry in Mexico," *Mexican Petroleum,* 23.

[14] Doheny obtained leases on large tracts of land in Peru adjoining the tidewater and sent skilled staffs with American machinery to open a field, this in spite of his conviction that the oil supply in California was adequate. *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1935.

[15] The Santa Fe made its first experiments with light oil taken from the Coalinga fields of Canfield. These trials were under the direction of Doheny's and Canfield's business associate, J. A. Chanslor, who not only assisted in equipping the locomotive but also served as fireman on the trial trip over the track between Los Angeles and Riverside. Chanslor thought the experiment a "perfect success," but within a few weeks an accident owing to the carelessness of a workman caused the destruction of the locomotive, the

At the same time, in order to insure an adequate supply of oil, the Fullerton district was being developed by Doheny, and the Bakersfield-Kern River district, his third field, was developed with his old friend Canfield the following year. These enterprises placed Doheny at the head of one of the greatest oil industries in the world.[16]

Having developed the Kern River district, Doheny was anxious to sell out and go to a new field. This is a typical example of the restlessness in his character which caused much displeasure and discomfort to his business associates.[17] Canfield, too, was ready for new fields to conquer. This time they turned their attention to Mexico. Doheny's interest in Mexico had been stimulated by A. A. Robinson, president of the Mexican Central Railway, whom he had met in California on a trip through one of his oil districts.[18] Robinson had at the time suggested that Doheny prospect along the route of the Mexican Central for oil for use on that line, offering Doheny transportation to Mexico for an inspection tour.[19]

Even before Spanish times the Indians of Mexico had used the bitumen and asphalt seepage (the *chapuputli* or *chapopote*) as cement in their buildings, as calking for their canoes, and as oil in their vestal fires. Later the Spaniards made little use of

---

roundhouse, and many of the railroad's engines. Doheny and Canfield kept after the officials of the Santa Fe and finally persuaded General Manager K. H. Wade of the Southern California Railway, part of the Santa Fe system, to make additional experiments. Old switch engine No. 10 was brought from the scrap heap in San Bernardino, its fire box remodeled, an oil burner installed, and an oil tank placed in the tender. The burner was an exact copy of one installed in Peru for the consumption of oil residium as fuel for locomotives of that country. Again the experiment was unsuccessful during trial runs to Santa Barbara, but finally E. A. Edwards installed a force-feed burner with steam jet, and after six months of improvements, it was declared satisfactory. In fact, old No. 10 was doing more service than any switch engine in the station. *Los Angeles Times, loc. cit.;* Whitney, 127-130; *National Cyclopedia,* Current Volume A, 499.

[16] After the Bakersfield development, Canfield in 1900 acquired the deep well district of Midway, about thirty miles southwest of the Kern River area, which became the greatest gross producer in California. Whitney, 134; *Los Angeles Times, loc. cit.*

[17] *Ibid.* Whitney, 130; interviews with Frank R. Seaver and Herbert G. Wylie.

[18] *I. M. A.,* I, 209; *Los Angeles Times, loc. cit.;* Doheny, "History," *Mexican Petroleum,* 15-16. (See above, note 15.) After Doheny persuaded Wade to use fuel oil and the oil burner had been installed, Wade still frequently called upon Doheny to make trips with him through the oil fields and to explain indications to him and his guests of the trip. On one such trip Doheny met Robinson, one of the pioneer builders of the Santa Fe and one of its early vice-presidents who was also president of the Mexican Central. The party included General Strong, one of the first presidents of the Santa Fe.

[19] *I. M. A.,* I, 109; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 152.

this type of oil, which was allowed to waste by evaporation.[20] In 1865 permission was granted by the Mexican Ministry of Fomento to Ildefonso López to exploit the petroleum deposits in the San José de las Rusias area in present Tamaulipas. After that attempts with varying degrees of enthusiasm but with little success, except in producing asphalt, were made between 1868 and 1900.[21] These ventures included futile drillings in the Furbero, the Tamesí River, the Potrero del Llano, and Cerro Viejo regions, all of which later proved rich in oil. The Cerro Viejo district had been exploited unsuccessfully by the London Oil Trust organized by Cecil Rhodes who abandoned his operations there in 1900, the year Doheny entered the field.[22] Small wonder then that Doheny's and Canfield's optimism in 1900-1901, in risking millions to drill where others had failed was considered sheer folly even by some of their close friends. Before oil was struck in large quantities, Doheny himself had doubts.[23]

On his first trip, made at the request of Robinson, Doheny arrived in Mexico in May 1900, with Canfield and Maginnis, the railroad executive whom he had changed into an oil man.[24] Doheny's private car was transported by the Mexican Central wherever he directed. Acting on information obtained from the industrial commissioner of the railroad, they found oil exudes about thirty-five miles west of Tampico, in the state of San Luis Potosí near the boundary of Vera Cruz. To avoid Americans living in Tampico who were annoying them by requests to become their representatives in Mexico, the party returned to the United States, where Canfield and Doheny interested others in their new project. Among them were R. C. Kerens of St. Louis, former ambassador to Vienna; E. D. Kenna of Chicago, head of the legal department of the Santa Fe; W. G. Nevins of Los Angeles, general manager of the Santa Fe; and an old friend, J. A. Chanslor, who had helped with the locomotive experiments in California and had been an associate of Canfield and Doheny in various oil enterprises there. Kenna gave Doheny letters of introduction to several attorneys in Mexico, among them Don Pablo Martínez del Río, Mexico's most noted English-speaking lawyer, who became the legal adviser of the Doheny interests.[25]

---

[20] James Middleton, "Mexico, the Land of Concessions," *World's Work,* XXVII, No. 3 (January 1914), 292; *Mexico's Oil,* Government of Mexico, Mexico City, 1940, xxv.

[21] "Chronological Outline of the Oil Industry in Mexico," in Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 3599; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 143-144; P. C. A. Stewart, "Early History of Petroleum in Mexico," *Engineering and Mining Journal,* XCVII (January-June 1914), no pag., in Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 3601; "History of the Furbero Oil Fields," American Institute of Mining Engineers *Transactions,* LII, 1915, in *ibid.,* File K, 3593-3595; see also same file, 3563-3566.

[22] *I. M. A.,* I, 242; "Chronological Outline of Oil Industry in Mexico," *loc. cit.,* 3599; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 144; John K. Barnes, "America Scouring the World for Oil," *World's Work,* XL, No. 5 (September 1920), 454.

[23] *I. M. A.,* I, 224-225; Ordóñez, 159-160; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.,* 26-27.

[24] All told, Doheny made sixty-five trips to Mexico in fifteen years, twenty-eight of them with his wife, Carrie Estelle Betzold, in whose honor his private car on the Mexican Central was called *Estelle.* Interview with Herbert G. Wylie; *I. M. A.,* I, 218; Ordóñez, 154.

When Doheny arrived in Mexico again in August 1900, he wired Mariano de Arguinzoniz, the owner of the Hacienda del Tulillo on which they had examined the exudes, to meet the party at Las Tablas, San Luis Potosí. There the bargain for the purchase of the hacienda was closed orally. Arguinzoniz continued with them to Aguascalientes where he was paid $25,000 by check from Doheny indorsed by Martínez del Río. Final papers were drawn up by November 1900. Doheny paid $325,000 for approximately 283,000 acres which had been formerly placed on the market for $75,000 less. Among the documents furnished by Arguinzoniz was a book six inches thick containing the records of ownership beginning with the initial grant by Philip II of Spain to the Marquis of Guadalcázar in 1581, showing title practically in the same family down to the time when Doheny purchased the hacienda. Martínez del Río also had Arguinzoniz renounce all claims to subsoil rights because by Mexican law unknown or unsuspected values might represent, if not renounced in the purchase documents, a possible claim on the part of the former owner to an interest in the property.[26] The area bought was soon increased by the additional purchase of the adjoining Hacienda de Chapacao, giving the Doheny interests about 448,000 acres in one tract. Doheny paid about $600,000 for this land.[27] It is interesting to note that later Doheny frequently and almost belligerently was able to boast that all his interests had been bought outright or leased on the basis of cash rental and that he had received no concessions of land from the Mexican government.[28]

Doheny sold his California interests to the Santa Fe Railroad for over a million and a quarter dollars after completing the purchase of his Mexican properties in the fall of 1900. Then on

---

[25] *I. M. A.*, I, 209-210; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.*, 15-16.

[26] *I. M. A.*, I, 211; see also typed MS in Doheny Research Fund Papers marked "Doheny."

[27] *I. M. A.*, I, 211-222; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.*, 18-19.

[28] *I. M. A.*, I, 229, 238.

December 20, 1900, he incorporated the Mexican Petroleum Company of California, later called the Ebano Company by Doheny adherents.[29] This was the first of several companies organized for the development of his Mexican interests. A contract had already been signed with Robinson to supply the Mexican Central with oil on the line from Aguascalientes to Tampico.[30] The oil camp was established on this line in February 1901, at kilometer 613, called the Ebano Station. The first rigs for drilling were ready on May 1, 1901, and the first well was brought in two weeks later, May 14, with a yield of only fifty barrels a day at a depth of 525 feet.[31]

Difficulties now entered the scene. The American stockholders and the Mexicans as well had feared that this venture would be another failure.[32] When only a fifty-barrel well was brought in, they were certain of it, and Mexican geologists and officials thereupon joined in denouncing the attempt as pure folly.[33] It was indeed many years before Mexican investors became interested in the oil lands.[34]

Another obstacle, and perhaps the greatest one, was the abrogation of the contract to furnish oil to the Mexican Central, the market Doheny needed to keep his business going. Although the oil flow was not great, it was sufficient to furnish fuel for the railroad. The contract called for the delivery by the railroad of a locomotive to be converted into an oil-burner at the expense of the Doheny company and its reconversion back to coal if the experiment proved unsuccessful. To Doheny's surprise, two weeks after the flow of oil began, he received notice that the contract had been voided by the new chairman of the railway's executive board, Henry Clay Pierce, who was interested in marketing the kerosene of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company in Mexico.[35] Doheny's oil was too heavy to refine, his stockholders were withdrawing their support, and ruin stared him in the face, when he hit upon a plan of using asphalt for paving the streets of Mexican cities.

---

[29] Private Records of Herbert G. Wylie; *I. M. A.,* I, 227.

[30] *I. M. A.,* I, 214.

[31] *I. M. A.,* I, 213-214, 219-220, 241-242; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 156; *Mexican Petroleum,* 49-52.

[32] *I. M. A.,* I, 211-212, 233-234; Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 3598.

[33] *Ibid.,* 3598; *I. M. A.,* I, 216; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 158-159; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.,* 26-28.

[34] Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 3598.

[35] *I. M. A.,* I, 214-215, 241-242; "Interview with Harold Walker," Doheny Research Fund Papers; "Death of Henry Clay Pierce," *Mexican Commerce and Industry,* IX, No. 7 (July 1927), 14, copy in Doheny Research Fund Papers.

A small refinery was established at Ebano to produce asphalt from the heavy oil, and a company was organized to market it. After some trouble paving contracts were made with Mexico City, Guadalajara, Morelia, Tampico, Durango, Puebla, and Chihuahua.[36] Regarding this paving venture Doheny later commented that the "failure to have a railway contract with the Mexican Central Railroad gave Mexico the best pavement on terms cheaper than probably any country in the world, and the cities named soon became the best paved cities in the world. . . ."[37]

Another difficulty was the failure to find oil in larger quantities. In fact Doheny and Canfield had spent three million dollars before their first good well, 1,700 barrels, began to flow in 1904.[38] But in the interim certain interrelated factors were making for success. For example, notwithstanding the opposition and skepticism displayed by certain Mexicans and by some people connected with the company, President Díaz and others in the Mexican government showed faith in the enterprise and aided Doheny. This connection with Díaz led to exemptions in taxes and also to a valuable acquaintanceship with a geologist, Ezequiel Ordóñez, who was to help greatly in bringing success to the company. Another factor was the displacement of Maginnis by a much more energetic and able manager, Herbert G. Wylie, who had been connected with Doheny as early as 1893 and has been in the Bakersfield development.[39] Maginnis, who had never really had his heart in his work, had nevertheless been able to get much done in beginning the venture, but it was Wylie who kept it going and remained until 1925 the driving force of the company in Mexico. Energetic, fair, looking after the interests of the workers as well as of the Doheny companies, strong of will, Wylie probably more than any other one man made the Doheny companies of Mexico the most successful oil producers there.[40]

---

[36] *I. M. A.*, I, 215; typewritten MS. in Doheny Research Fund Papers, marked in pencil, "Doheny"; "Interview with Harold Walker."

[37] *I. M. A.*, I, 216.

[38] Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.*, 35; Whitney, 136-141.

[39] Interviews with Herbert G. Wylie and with Robert G. Cleland, Los Angeles, September 8, 1941.

[40] Interview with Robert G. Cleland, September 8, 1941; "Interview with Herbert G. Wylie," Doheny Research Fund Papers, File K, 3625-3629, Interview No. 597. Since Wylie was a Presbyterian of Scotch-Irish descent and Doheny's forbears came from Tipperary, Doheny later enjoyed telling his friends that the success of his Mexican ventures was entirely due to the association of north and south Ireland, to the perfect mingling of Home Rule and Orangeism, in the tropics of Mexico. *I. M. A.*, I, 228.

Wylie became manager in 1902, and with his advent things began to hum.[41]

Still, even with Wylie in the saddle, for several months the production of oil did not reach large quantities. The wells discovered in the first four years of operations ran from ten to fifty barrels per day. Yet there was actually no market for more oil even if more could be found by drilling deeper as some experts had suggested. But in addition, everyone, including Doheny, was skeptical by now about the existence of oil in large quantities, at least in the Ebano district.[42] Despite all his doubts, Doheny kept on and began to buy up the stock of those who were more doubtful than he. Upon his own admission, at the formation of the company he held eight per cent of the stock, but because of the general skepticism and a depression in oil in 1902 due to the opening of the Texas fields, he was able to buy enough additional stock to give him a forty per cent interest.[43] Reports have it that he sold or pawned Mrs. Doheny's jewels in the trying days between 1901 and 1904.[44]

Now an interesting thing occurred that was to change the entire future of the business. When Doheny first came to Mexico in 1900, his lawyer, Martínez del Río, feeling doubtful that oil would be discovered, told Doheny that he might as well take advantage of all the help he could get from the government. Following his advice, the Mexican Petroleum Company made efforts to obtain the exemption from taxes granted to new industries. They had to get a statement from the governor of each state that no oil company was operating at that time within his state. All the governors finally sent certifications to this effect. Thereupon, Martínez del Río, in his own name, received permission to import free of federal duties for ten years all materials and supplies needed to conduct the Doheny industry. In addition the company was to be exempt from all other federal taxes except the stamp tax. No other developer of petroleum would be entitled to these tax exemptions unless the Doheny company abandoned its effort to develop the petroleum industry, an understanding that Doheny later contended was not carried out by the Mexican government. In return for these exemptions, the company had to make a list of the supplies needed and of the areas affected and to furnish a map of these sections, and had to agree to expend five hundred thousand gold pesos in developing the industry within five years. Canfield objected to binding themselves to spend this large sum because at the end of the five-year period they would merely be relieved of certain inconsiderable taxes, and if the development failed, they would be the losers. But the arrangement was finally accepted,[45] and according to Doheny it was the only tax exemption of that type ever made in Mexico. It lapsed in 1909.[46]

---

[41] Interview with Herbert G. Wylie, September 8, 1941; *I. M. A.*, I, 228-229; *Press Reference Library (Southwest Edition)*, 377.

[42] *I. M. A.*, I, 215.

[43] *Ibid.*, I, 225-227, 241; typewritten MS. in Doheny Research Fund Papers, 6 pages, no identification.

[44] Interview with Frank R. Seaver, September 11, 1941. In the midst of this trouble, Doheny's attitude is expressed in a letter to his newly made Mexican friend, Ordóñez, in which he said, "I hope that you will always remember and bear in mind that my interest in the successful carrying out of all details of our great plan is unabated, and that my determination is just as great as it ever has been to make a financial, as well as an historical success of the Mexican Petroleum enterprise." Ordóñez, *loc. cit.*, 165.

As already noted, failure stared Doheny and Canfield in the face by 1903, in spite of their favored position with regard to tax exemptions. They had practically exhausted their own fortunes. Doheny had sold his California interests. He had to do something. At this time a minor political squabble in Mexico came to his rescue, a squabble that was to involve his competitor, Henry Clay Pierce, the man who had abrogated his contract to furnish oil to the Mexican Central. Perhaps it was retribution that was to make Doheny the beneficiary of the misfortunes of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company.

---

[45] Martínez del Río wanted Doheny to see President Díaz, even though Martínez del Río was no *persona grata* with the administration because his father had supported Maximilian and served under him as ambassador to France. Doheny, however, was introduced to Díaz by the ambassador of the United States, General Powell Clayton. Out of this introduction grew a fairly intimate friendship, intimate enough at least for Díaz to see Doheny during the rush period of the Second Pan American Conference held in Mexico City in 1902, to the surprise of even Doheny himself. Díaz told Doheny that he was interested in any industrial development that Doheny might propose. He told him of iron deposits he had seen in his native state of Oaxaca in his boyhood, of his wish to save the public domain of Mexico, especially the forest lands, and of his desire to avoid the necessity of importing coal to Mexico and losing gold in exchange. He told Doheny that his people were good and needed his protection and love and that he wanted to see them uplifted. In another meeting Díaz asked Doheny if he were connected in any way with the Standard Oil Company, and when Doheny replied in the negative, Díaz made him promise never to see out to Standard Oil without first letting the Mexican government have the opportunity to buy the property and prevent its falling into the hands of a powerful foreign corporation. It would be difficult to determine from the events of 1925, when Doheny sold his properties, whether this promise was kept in its entirety, although in a strict sense, the elimination of Díaz from Mexican politics could perhaps be considered as a basis for voiding the promise. *I. M. A.*, I, 212, 218-219, 224; MS "Doheny" in Doheny Research Fund Papers; Interview with Herbert G. Wylie; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.*, 21-22.

[46] MS. "Doheny," in Doheny Research Fund Papers; *I. M. A.*, I, 212-213.

A conflict over taxes between the Mexican government and the Waters-Pierce Company led to efforts on the part of José Ives Limantour, the Minister of Hacienda, to eject the company from the kerosene market in Mexico. Limantour suggested to the Instituto Geológico that an inspection be made of the Mexican Gulf Coast to see whether there was any possibility of developing a native oil production and to investigate at the same time the activities of the Mexican Petroleum Company at Ebano and of other firms now gradually acquiring lands in Mexico, such as the British company, Pearson and Son, Ltd. A commission of two geologists was created toward the end of 1901, which left for the coast in February 1902. They were Ezequiel Ordóñez and a man named Virreyes, with the former as chairman. What Ordóñez saw at the Ebano field alone convinced him that the prospects for oil were excellent. But the other man opposed this view and was upheld by Limantour, by the president of the Instituto Geológico, a man named Aguilera, and by the Instituto itself. As a result Ordóñez was discredited and Doheny was infuriated. Doheny later contended that Aguilera had socialist ideas and wanted to bring about the nationalization of the petroleum industry, and that the Instituto actually embarked upon an investigation to see whether nationalization was possible. The investigation, in which Doheny naturally was greatly interested, proved that it was inadvisable, at least according to Doheny.[47]

Ordóñez now threw in his lot with Doheny just at the time when the company was on its last legs with no increased production in sight. One night in December 1903 Ordóñez found himself in the Doheny camp at Ebano on a vacation. Doheny, who had just arrived from Los Angeles, told Ordóñez that he and Canfield were greatly disturbed over the prospects of their company; that a goodly part of their fortunes had been lost; and that they could get no more money.[48]

The company had been drilling on a level spot between the Cerro de la Dicha and the station of Ebano. Ordóñez had frequently argued that a better place would be the foot of the Cerro de la Pez, basing his contention on his own geological investigations of the area. The Cerro de la Pez region showed two of the largest *chapopoteras* west of Tampico, at the contact between the basalt of the Cerro de la Pez and the shales touching it. This bituminous oil must be coming, he contended, from an area of weak resistance, the area of friction or contact between lava and shales. He suggested therefore that they drill a short distance from the foot of the Cerro de la Pez, away from the lava. Ordóñez's suggestion precipitated a long and angry discussion that night, but the next morning they went to the place he favored, a small caravan of four serious men—Doheny, Canfield, Wylie, and Ordóñez. Going by rail part of the way and by canoe the rest, they arrived at La Pez, where Ordóñez marked a place for drilling, a point a little outside the suggested *chapopotera* and several meters from the steep lava outcropping at the foot of the ridge. The selection brought another burst of protests, but Ordóñez prevailed upon Doheny to support him.[49]

---

[47] *Ibid.,* I, 216-217; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.,* 157-159.

[48] Ordóñez, 159.

Out of this singular adventure sprang the first well of outstanding commercial production, the La Pez No. 1, brought in on Easter Sunday, April 3, 1904, after a little more than three months of drilling. The well began to flow at 1,450 feet, producing on the first day a thousand barrels and increasing gradually to 1,700 barrels. With a gravity of about ten, it was the heaviest oil Doheny had ever seen produced in such quantities. As late as 1919 this well was still yielding eight hundred barrels a day after fifteen years of flow.[50]

These were the beginnings of commercial oil production in Mexico, with Doheny the enthusiastic driving force, Canfield the silent yet strong backer, and Wylie the field manager, energetic, efficient, and enterprising. Having now sufficient oil, Doheny found it easy to persuade Pierce to make a new contract to furnish fuel to the Mexican Central.[51] But Doheny, in his usual manner, wanted to start something new, and so in 1906 he explored the lands that had been abandoned by the Rhodes interests in 1900, about seventy miles south of Tampico and west of the Laguna de Tamiahua. Out of this trip sprang the famous Huasteca Petroleum Company (organized under the laws of Maine on February 12, 1907, with an authorized capital of fifteen million dollars), and its subsidiaries (the Tuxpam Petroleum Company and the Tamiahua Petroleum Company, organized in Maine in 1906).[52] Thus by 1907 the holdings of Doheny had become so extensive in Mexico that he could organize a holding company, the Mexican Petroleum Company, Limited, of Delaware, was incorporated four days after the Huasteca company.[53]

---

[49] *Ibid.,* 159-161; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.,* 26-28.

[50] *I. M. A.,* I, 215-216; Ordóñez, 161.

[51] Interview with Herbert G. Wylie; *I. M. A.,* I, 215-216.

[52] *Ibid.,* I, 229-231, 242; Private Papers of Herbert G. Wylie; Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.,* 28-35.

The first well in the new Huasteca field came in too soon and had to be shut in after all the available storage tanks had been filled. The second well, the Juan Casiano No. 7, a gusher, blew in on September 11, 1910. Several hundred thousand barrels of oil from this well had to be burned to prevent devastation when the concrete reservoir was filled and the oil began to flow into a nearby creek. Casiano No. 7 started with a production of 70,000 barrels a day unrestrained and 25,000 barrels when partially shut in.[54]

Now, Doheny was a millionaire again, but his greatest gusher, the greatest gusher in the history of oil production, had not even been drilled. This well, Cerro Azul No. 4, blew in on February 10, 1916, and was closed in only after the greatest difficulty nine days later. Cerro Azul No. 4 reached a maximum production of over 260,000 barrels a day before being closed in.[55] The Doheny interests were now producing more than a million dollars worth of oil a week. And still the oil wells came in.[56]

Oil production reached its greatest height in Mexico in 1921 with over 193,000,000 barrels for that year, or about half the United States production.[57] From September 1916 until November 1919, when it began to show signs of exhaustion, the famous Cerro Azul well alone produced 85,000,000 barrels of oil.[58] The Doheny interests before 1925 produced about 560,000,000 barrels of oil in Mexico.[59] Within twenty years, 1901-1921, Mexican production had jumped from a little over 10,000 barrels a year to more than 193,000,000 barrels,[60] with a total production for the twenty years of over 725,000,000 barrels.[61] These exceptional yields came from comparatively few wells, and gusher conditions eliminated pumping. The 250,000 producing wells in the United States in 1920 averaged less than five barrels a day while the three hundred producing wells in Mexico in the same year averaged 1,800 barrels per day.[62] Of all the producers in Mexico, the Doheny companies were the largest. In fact, when Doheny decided to sell out, his production was at its peak with gross receipts for the month of April 1925 amounting to $10,500,000. The year before he had estimated the value of his interests in Mexico at $218,000,000,[63] and yet he is reported to have sold out in 1925 for only $36,000,000.[64]

---

[53] The capital stock of the holding company was $60,000,000. *I. M. A.*, I, 226; *Mexican Petroleum*, 55; *Mexico's Oil*, 87.

[54] *I. M. A.*, 229-230, 242; *Mexican Petroleum*, 55-56; Ordóñez, 193-194; Interview with Herbert G. Wylie.

[55] The well blew in from a depth of 1,792 feet. The force was so great that it destroyed the derrick, blew the oil into the air 600 feet, and caused the drill bit weighing two tons to be imbedded twenty feet in the ground 125 feet from the well. A part record of the well's flow is as follows: February 15: 152,000 barrels; February 16; 190,209; February 17: 211,008; February 18: 221,186; February 19: 260,858. Interview with Wylie; *Cerro Azul No. 4, World's Greatest Oil Well. Progressive Photographs of Its Bringing In and Closing,* New York (Mexican Petroleum Company, Ltd., of Delaware), n. d. *Mexican Petroleum*, 94-108; Ordóñez, *loc. cit.*, 202-204.

[56] A glimpse at the wells produced in 1921 alone will suffice to demonstrate the enormous production of the Doheny interests. They were, in the order in which they came in: Cerro Azul No. 3 with a potential production of 30,000 barrels; Cerro Azul No. 7, 75,000; Tierra Blanca No. 1, 75,000; Cerro Azul No. 9, 100,000; Cerro Azul No. 8, 100,000; Cerro Azul No. 11, 100,000; Cerro Viejo No. 3, 40,000; Cerro Azul No. 12, 25,000; Cerro Azul No. 10, 25,000; Cerro Azul No. 15, 75,000; Cerro Azul No. 16, 25,000; Cerro Azul No. 14, 20,000. *Mexican Petroleum*, 57.

[57] *Ibid.*, 213; Ordóñez, 187.

[58] Doheny, "History," *loc. cit.*, 33. According to Wylie, Cerro Azul No. 4 yielded 160,000,000 barrels.

[59] Interview with Herbert G. Wylie.

Doheny never retired. For the next ten years, until his death at the age of seventy-nine, he was active in oil development in California. In Los Angeles his friends still remember him as the man who personally discovered more oil than any other man on earth.

Fritz L. Hoffmann

University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

---

[60] *Mexico y Sus Recursos Naturales,* published by Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, Mexico City, 1922, 180-181; Ordóñez, 187-188.

[61] *Mexican Petroleum,* 229.

[62] *Ibid.,* 231.

[63] Parker T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* New York, 1927, 449. For some indications of the social, political, and economic implications of these holdings in Mexico cf. Herbert I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation, A History,* New York, 1930, 437-439, 453-454.

[64] Interview with Frank R. Seaver, September 11, 1941. Other estimates of the amount of the sale vary. Wylie says that Doheny sold out for $16,000,000. *Mexico's Oil,* 87, says the sum was over $150,000,000. Seven years before his death Doheny's fortune was estimated at $75,000,000. This was divided equally between his wife, his son, and himself. *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1935.

Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians

I

Chile, early the land of the primitive, proud and warlike Araucanians, was brought into the Spanish dominions by Pedro de Valdivia. In 1541 the capital, Santiago, was founded, a *cabildo* was organized, and the conqueror assumed the office of governor and captain general of the region. The central city from which the conquest radiated is situated approximately equidistant from either end and either side of the Republic of Chile, now extending 2,660 miles from the middle to the lower tip of South America. The upper third of Chile, mostly desert and nitrate lands, was left undeveloped in colonial times. The lower third, chiefly islands and scenery, is still to be exploited. The central part was the scene of conquest, settlement, and of perpetual conflict between Spaniards and the Araucanians who occupied the lower half of the middle area. Pedro de Valdivia might be said to have pacified by 1549 the upper portion to a distance south of about 300 miles. Here the Río Bío-Bío meandered from mountain to sea. This famed river seemed a natural dividing line between Spanish holdings and the Araucanian lands. At its mouth Concepción was established in 1550.

Still, Spanish occupations continued southward in the face of opposition. The governor founded towns below the Bío-Bío and protected them by a triangle of forts at Arauco on the coast, Tucapel to the southeast, and Puren to the south. Then he boldly established the southernmost of his cities, Valdivia, nearly 500 miles from Santiago, deep in the hostile land, and Osorno, an outpost. But the conquerors failed to take sufficiently into account the attitude and prowess of the Indians. The Araucanians under their crafty leaders, Aillaralu, Caupolicán, and Lautaro, commenced in 1553 six years of warfare and destruction. Valdivia was slain, his settlements were destroyed below the Bío-Bío, and the Spanish advance had to begin all over. Such back and forth surges became perennial as the Araucanians resisted intrusions below the river by sporadic wars for the remainder of colonial times.

The crux of the difficulty was labor. The wealth of Chile lay in the rich land. This required working, and so Pedro de Valdivia distributed conquered Indians to his soldier-settlers according to the *encomienda* system. Offensive warfare was waged to get more laborers. Thus there developed in Chile the age-old trouble repeated in the colonial era wherever Spaniard, Portuguese, English, or French settlers came. The Indians, to whom regulated labor was virtually unknown, were neither inclined nor adapted to a day of work. The Araucanians regarded service and labor with a distain similar to that of the Iroquois. Under the *encomienda* plan they were sullen and died off or stole away to freedom in their mountains. Colonists, urged primarily by the instinct of self-preservation, exploited their charges. They forgot their part of the compact, which entailed instruction, Christianization, elevation of the individuals, good example, and paternal care. Religious orders, having a program diametrically opposed to that of conqueror and colonist, became champions of Indian freedom from personal servitude. Thus there was conflict wherever missionaries were at work, one which took on varying aspects in relation to the particular geo-economic characteristics of the region occupied. In this case it was Araucania, and oddly enough the prime defender of the natives, Father Luis de Valdivia, bore the name of the early *conquistador*.

After the death of the first governor, his successors showed a spark of concern over the plight of the Indians around Santiago. Pedro de Valdivia had introduced ten ecclesiastics to Chile: three secular priests and seven Mercedarians. As time passed the need for others grew, and a royal *cédula* charged the Order of St. Dominic in Peru with the duty of dispatching priests to Chile. Three Dominican friars arrived in 1552 and founded a convent in Santiago. Of these, Fray Gil González de San Nicolás, like Las Casas and other Dominicans in the north, spoke out against Indian abuses. No one, however, could offer a practical plan to eradicate evils. The establishment of the first Franciscan convent took place in 1553. By 1593 the Dominicans had four convents, the Franciscans eight, and the Mercedarians six. In this year the Jesuits came, and they were followed by the Augustinians in 1595. To this point practically nothing had been done for the natives below the Río Bío-Bío.[1]

The Society of Jesus had been active in Peru for a quarter of a century before it was invited to Chile. A band of eight missionaries, led by Father Baltasar Piñas, set out from Lima on

---

[1] Crescente Errázuriz, *Los Orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena, 1530-1603,* Santiago, 1873, 46-47, 50, 97-98, 103, 191-193, 212-220, 442.

February 9, 1593. Surviving a dreadful storm the boats got to Coquimbo, whence the padres continued on muleback to Santiago, arriving April 12, 1593, at the Dominican convent there.[2] Among these first Jesuits was Father Luis de Valdivia, who had already displayed energy and ability as a missionary in Cuzco and Juli. Born in Granada in 1561, he studied at Salamanca before entering the Castillian province of the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty. Shortly after his ordination to the priesthood in 1589, he was sent to Peru where he served in various capacities from teaching theology in the Jesuit college at Lima to mission work among Indians. His intellectual and linguistic achievements, his eloquence, and his administrative aptitude determined his selection for the Chilean enterprise.[3]

A year after the arrival of the Jesuits in Santiago, Father Piñas, feeling the infirmities of his age, returned to Peru. He had witnessed the establishment of the Society in the capital and the beginnings of their classes in the new school. Valdivia was left as superior. Not only did the energetic padre hold a chair of philosophy, once the school developed into an arts college in Santiago, and attend prisoners of war and other natives of the city, but he traveled to the most remote haciendas to alleviate the distress of the victims of personal service. Realizing the priceless asset of the ability to reach the natives through their own tongue, he diligently studied the language. In a very short time he was hearing confessions, preaching, and conversing in the speech of the land. He convinced Governor Don Martín Gracía de Loyola of the absolute necessity of having all cleric ministers to the indigines versed in native languages, and he ordered Jesuits under his jurisdiction to perfect themselves in them.[4]

Remarkable success soon came to Valdivia and his fellow spiritual trail blazers. Besides instructing Indians attached to the Spanish haciendas, the fathers journeyed regularly to the Indian *rancherías,* where they assembled the tribesmen, and taught them pious practices and hymns in their own language. They studied the habits, needs, character, and inclinations of the natives around Santiago and those to the southward. These experiences revealed to Valdivia the possibility of elevating the race, but, on the other hand, the futility of hoping for true spiritual progress under the existing system of personal service. It did not seem possible to ground the natives in the principles of the Christian faith or to instill the new spirit when they were so bonded by the *encomenderos*.[5]

---

[2] Pablo Pastells, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay,* Madrid, 1912, I, 100.

[3] Miguel de Olivares, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile,* in Diego Barros Arana, *Colección de Historiadores de Chile y Documentos Relativos a la Historia Nacional,* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923 (hereinafter cited as *C. H.*), VII, 14; Francisco Enrich, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile,* Barcelona, 1891, I, 14; Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesús,* Paris, 1908, 377-382.

[4] Olivares, in *C. H.,* VII, 18; Enrich, I, 22, 28, 37-45, 52-54; Errázuriz, *Orígenes,* 434; José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* Santiago, 1897, I, 189-192; Rodolfo R. Schuller, *Discovery of a Fragment of the Printed Copy of the Work on the Millcayac Language by Luis de Valdivia,* Cambridge, 1913.

However, progress of the missions southward continued. The spiritual victories of the Black Robes along the frontier, the Bío-Bío territory, convinced them that a wealth of souls could be harvested among the more intelligent Araucanians under more peaceful conditions. After happy contacts had been made with the natives of Arauco, 300 miles south of Santiago, Valdivia made journeys from this as a base to the settlements and villages of the borderland, preaching to the Spaniards and evangelizing the natives. In Arauco many were instructed and baptized.

From this point the father and his companion set forth on a long missionary tour, first to Imperial, then to Villarica, Valdivia, and finally to Osorno over 500 miles south of the capital. During this seven months' expedition of 1597 throngs of natives flocked together to hear the Jesuits speak, and an impressive number of infidels were baptized. But they became aware of the Indians' attitude toward servitude, enforced labor, warfare, and especially of a growing resentment towards the low moral conduct of Spanish soldiery in the outposts. Upon their return to the College of Santiago they warned the Spanish authorities of impending trouble, but their warnings met with indifference and derision.[6]

The cauldron of rebellion was not long in boiling over. On November 22, 1598, while camping on their march from Imperial to Angol, Governor García Oñez, his company of sixty, and three Franciscans were slain by Indians under the leadership of the *cacique* Paillamachu. News of the crippling of the military arm of the Spaniards got abroad. Within two days the Cunchese and Huilliches provinces were in revolt, as well as the Araucanians around Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Cañete, Angol, Coya, and the fortress of Arauco. The first six of these places were destroyed and surrounding lands devastated. Refugees who escaped death were gathered north of the Bío-Bío. Although the physical results of this revolt were disastrous, the spiritual and moral results had far more serious aftermaths. The new governor and his successor adopted the aggressive warfare policy, waging savage but ineffectual battles. Hatred dominated both sides in the conflicts. The land was one of war with no truce imminent.[7]

---

[5] Olivares, in *C. H.*, VII, 22-23; Enrich, I, 24-25.

[6] Olivares, in *C. H.*, VII, 46-47; Enrich, I, 64-65, 67-68.

Within the Jesuit Order a reorganization was taking place. In 1602 Father Páez, on his inspection of the Jesuit houses of Chile as *visitador,* noted with sorrow the turmoil into which the province had been thrown. In the redistribution of men occurring at the time, Father Valdivia was called back to Peru in 1602 to take again the vacant chair in theology at the College of Lima. He had derived through his missionary experiences in Chile the knowledge of the fundamental facts of the Indian problem there and thus had concluded the preparatory phase of his career among the Araucanians. The second phase, that of championing the cause of the liberty loving people, was to witness his endeavors in Peru, again in Chile, and in Spain.[8]

II

Attack and counterattack on the part of Indians and whites was the order of the day in Chile, each becoming less destructive only because there was less left to destroy. In Spain, recurring orders and demands were issued by the crown to curtail the costly war. Hearing of Valdivia's discussions in regard to the causes of the war, the Viceroy of Peru, Marqués de Salina, requested him to draw up a detailed account of the situation. A *memorial,* composed in compliance with this request, frankly declared the existing system of personal service to be the underlying source of all the evils that had arisen in the struggles between the Araucanians and the Spaniards.[9]

To give consideration to this *memorial,* a conference was held by the most notable personages of Peru, including the governor-elect of Chile, García Ramón, and Padre Valdivia. This junta, resolving to abolish personal service, allowed two years for the accomplishment of the transition from forced to voluntary labor, though it strongly urged that this transition be effected sooner.[10]

---

[7] Juan Ignacio Molina, S. J., *The Geographical, Natural and Civil History of Chile,* London, 1809, II, 253, 254; Diego de Rosales, S. J., *Historia General del Reino de Chile,* Valparaiso, 1878, II, 229-326, 355; Olivares, in *C. H.,* VII, 47; Enrich, I, 77-78; Pastells, I, 201-203; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* II, 5-20; Domingo Amunátegui Soler, *Las Encomiendas de Indígenas en Chile,* Santiago, 1909, I, 355; Crescente Errázuriz, *Historia de Chile . . .,* Santiago, 1914, I, 291-292.

[8] Olivares, in *C. H.,* VII, 49-51, 54; Enrich, I, 81-82, 88-89; Antonio Astrain, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* Madrid, 1912-1925, IV, 692-693.

[9] Enrich, I, 100-101; see also Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* II, 371, 373.

Valdivia was delegated to make a tour of southern Chile, further to investigate the situation. Again he had the opportunity to practice his zeal in converting, civilizing, and protecting his Araucanians. He embarked at Callao accompanied by Governor Ramón and two hundred soldiers. They docked at Penco, March 19, 1605. It should be noted clearly that Valdivia was commissioned as a civil as well as ecclesiastical personage. His authority was substantiated by *cédulas* given him in Peru in the name of his Majesty: "con autoridad de Su Majestad." He carried instructions to: (1) offer a general pardon to the Indians for all their former misdeeds; (2) make it clear that the king did not approve personal service as it was practiced in Chile and now demanded its cessation; (3) sanction tribute only in the form in which the natives were accustomed to pay in their own lands. This third point, considering the fact that in their own lands the natives paid no tribute except in times of war, would indicate that no tribute should be paid to the crown. These instructions were greeted with no joy on the part of the *encomenderos,* and with far more than a grain of suspicion on the part of the Indians.[11]

The task of spreading the report of the new dispensation of the king to abolish the grievances of the natives and come to a peaceful understanding was begun. At Concepción, Valdivia conversed with peaceful chiefs, *toquis,* in an informal junta. At Santiago he had striven to impress the thousand soldiers, who had just arrived from Spain, with their legal and moral obligation to cooperate in the new government plans. Turning southward Valdivia crossed the Bío-Bío and took part in another junta, this time with the *caciques* of Lagunillas. Accompanied by friendly *toquis,* he communicated his message of peace from Arauco through Taboleno, Lapiré, Mahuda, the region of Cateray, down to Guadava, Puren, Cateray del Sur, and to the fort of Nuestra Señora de Ala. He cultivated the friendship of the natives of Calcura, Penquienhue, Quedico, Quiapo, Tucapel, Lebuliencoya, and Cayacupil, declaring peaceful intentions and receiving reciprocal declarations from the natives. So suspicious were some of the *toquis* of the good faith of the Spaniards that the padre had to summon all his powers of persuasion to convince them that the civil and military powers were cooperating with the Black Robes. Unfortunately the military leaders merited suspicion by constant breaches of agreements. Some of the *toquis* remained hostile. His tour of inspection concluded, and now thoroughly convinced that his conclusions as to the cause of native belligerency were sound, in the latter part of April 1606, Valdivia embarked for Peru.[12]

---

[10] *C. H.,* IV, 95; "Copia de vna carta del Padre Luys de Valdiuia para el Señor Conde de Lemos . . .," Lima, January 4, 1607, photostat No. 245, 1-2, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[11] *Ibid.;* Astrain, IV, 696; Enrich, I, 103.

In a letter written the following January, the padre clearly expressed his reactions to the investigation. He noted the lack of respect shown to the laws of God and of the king by the soldiers and *encomenderos* of Chile. Especially disappointed was he in García Ramón, whose hostile *entradas* belied the governor's protest that he was attempting peaceful subjugation. Again he denounced personal service as the crux of the whole disorder.[13]

Following the death of the Conde de Monterey, the Marqués de Montes Claros became viceroy. With his encouragement and approval the *oidor* don Juan de Villela and Valdivia wrote memorials to Spain in June 1607, intensifying their arguments regarding the imperative need for a cessation of the abuses resulting from the system of personal service in Chile. In a letter of June 4, 1607, Valdivia expounded the necessity of the abolition of forced labor, abuses, and of personal service, and the necessity for limiting the Spaniards to the territory north of the Bío-Bío, advocating only defensive measures of war. Thus, he sponsored the system which came to be known as *guerra defensiva,* or defensive warfare, as opposed to the existing policy of offensive warfare.

Governor García Ramón was making no pretense at pursuing the type of resistance advocated by Padre Valdivia and approved by the viceroy. On April 12, 1607, he had written to the king saying that the Araucanians had killed more than four hundred persons, that they respected no one, that they clamored against both cleric and soldier; he sincerely hoped no serious consideration be given this theory of Padre Valdivia.

Due to the numerous defeats of the Spanish troops the crown directed Peru to send two thousand regulars to the Araucanian border. Natural forces in Chile were joining in the destruction; the deluge of the Mapocho, famine, and locust devoured fields added to the misery of the natives as well as to the expense of the Peruvian treasury in supporting the soldiers. On May 26, 1608, a harsh royal *cédula* announced that all natives who should not have accepted peace within the following two months would be enslaved. Since 1578, when Rodrigo de Quiróga had reduced hundreds of natives to slavery, transporting them to Coquimbo, his successors not only rivaled his harshness but frequently surpassed him. Following the revolt in 1598, García Ramón followed Ribera's practice of condemning all rebellious Indians to slavery or death. The disaster at Boroa, September 29, 1606, when more than one hundred Spanish soldiers perished, dispelled what qualms might have existed among the members of the Council of the Indies concerning the cruelest of castigations. Under Merlo de la Fuente the enslavement *cédula* of 1608 was interpreted to pertain not only to those on the frontier, but to all natives of Chile.

---

[12] "Copia de vna carta del Padre Luys de Valdivia . . .," *op. cit.,* 3-4; *C. H.,* VIII, 283-284; Olivares, in *C. H.,* VII, 63; Enrich, I, 104-105.

[13] "Copia de vna carta del Padre Luys de Valdivia . . .," *op. cit.,* 6.

Meanwhile, the Jesuit Provincial, Torres Bello, had written to the king pleading for abolition of "personal service." He requested further that a general pardon be extended to the natives, absolving them from punishment for misdeeds they might have committed. So unsatisfactory was the progress with the king that Valdivia's ecclesiastical and civil superiors deemed it desirable to have the padre present the plan of *guerra defensiva* personally. So it was that Padre Valdivia sailed for Spain in 1609.[14]

While there is no verbatim record of the private audience Valdivia held with the king, there remains no doubt as to the outline of the plan presented nor of the king's reaction to it. Probably the most complete exposition of Valdivia's scheme of procedure, which he was frequently called upon to amplify, and which many have interpreted in their own fashion, may be found in the padre's own explanation of the situation in a lengthy *informado* which was presented in Madrid probably in 1610.[15]

In the first of the eight chapters of the *tratado,* he dwelled upon the inconveniences encountered in prosecuting an offensive war, focusing attention upon the fact that such a war not only impeded the evangelizing of the natives but was a source of lamentable moral degradation among the Spanish soldiers. He estimated that 2,600 Spaniards had perished in the war since 1606. Comparable were the number of infidel natives who had perished without the opportunity of or desire for evangelization. Nor were the pacified Indians spared the grief, but suffered from impoverishment, personal service, and attacks of hostile Indians. Since the war had assumed such proportions, personal service had become more firmly and unjustly established regardless of decrees of the monarch. The padre did not hesitate to reveal the lack of cooperation of the authorities of Chile with the instructions of the viceroy in 1606, which directed the eventual abolition of slavery after a thorough investigation assisted by numerous conferences with jurists and theologians. Aside from the spiritual loss, he indicated the financial waste entailed in pursuing an offensive war in which lack of substantial success served to metamorphose a paying project to an eternal debt.

---

[14] Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 364-365; Astrain, IV, 684, 697.

[15] Luis de Valdivia, S. J., "Tratado de la importancia del medio que el virrey propone de cortar la guerra de Chile, y hazerla solamente defensiva," Madrid, c. 1611, photostat No. 264, Massachusetts Historical Society.

In the second chapter of his *tratado,* Valdivia dealt with the general difficulties encountered in terminating the war through offensive tactics. The geographical problem in itself was insurmountable. The territory in rebellion covered almost one hundred leagues north and south from the *cordilleras* on the east to the Pacific on the west. Of these the northernmost forty leagues had been a battleground since the Spaniards entered Chile. Successful conquest of the land would require countless additional garrisons. The roughness of the land of war further contributed to the difficulties and expenses of offensive warfare. A sufficient supply of horses would in itself prove a tremendous expenditure. Already the viceroy had sent from ten to twelve thousand pesos to Paraguay to purchase horses for the cavalry of Chile, with ineffectual results. On the other hand, in defensive warfare, the infantry, not the cavalry, would bear the brunt of the service, a far less expensive branch of the military service to maintain.

In summary, the first five chapters of the *tratado* presented logically the desirability of discontinuing an offensive war, giving economic, social, and religious reasons. The last three chapters were concerned largely with the outstanding events that had occurred during the war, an historical survey which concluded with an outline of the padre's procedure for effecting an eventual cessation of the war.

Valdivia urged general pardon to the Indians for all their misdoings. Since the natives had been degraded and abused, they could scarcely be expected to tolerate *entradas* of military men or of civilians; on the other hand they had shown themselves kindly disposed toward the men of the cross. Therefore the most convenient and logical expedient would be to erect a border between the Araucanians and the Spaniards at the Bío-Bío, beyond which only missionaries would pass in order to Christianize the natives and instill true sentiments of friendship.

Captain Lorenzo del Salto had been commissioned by García Ramón to contradict any attempts to inaugurate officially the system fostered by Valdivia. Del Salto stated that within the last two and a half years of García Ramón's governorship nine hundred natives had been slain and more than three thousand taken prisoners—a fact that should instill fear in the hearts of the Araucanians and thus lead to eventual submission.[16]

In the early part of the year 1610, Valdivia's detailed *memorial* in behalf of *guerra defensiva,* and Lorenzo del Salto's divergent opinions, were discussed by the Council of the Indies, and the plan of defensive warfare was adopted officially. Forts were to be retained along the frontier of the Bío-Bío sufficiently manned for resisting any attacks; 200,000 pesos were to be paid from Lima for the support of the army in Chile. Personal service was to be entirely abolished. Prisoners of war were not to be enslaved. Just payments were to be made by the pacified Indians to the king. Jesuit padres were to reside in the forts along the frontier from where they would supervise the treatment of the pacified natives and make their *entradas* into the Indian territory to convert the infidel.[17]

The indulgences granted by Pope Paul V later in the year, October 13, 1610, in the *pastoris eterni,* reveals the attitude of the pope towards the negotiations during this conference. Concerned only with the spiritual side, these indulgences implied papal favor of the method of *guerra defensiva.*[18]

When the plan had been formally accepted, the selection of the most workable means of execution confronted the authorities. Both ecclesiastical and civil authority had to be delegated. Since the Bishop of Santiago had among his numerous aversions a most pronounced animosity towards the Jesuits, his cooperation could not be expected. This aversion was not necessarily to Valdivia, for it had been evidenced before the padre had become so important. King Felipe III and the viceroy of Peru, the Marqués de Montes Claros, strongly favored conferring the dignity of the bishopric of Imperial upon Valdivia, and his name was formally proposed. The Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva, gave the matter serious consideration. He was fully confident that the padre was well qualified for the dignity; however, he expressed a doubt that the objectives of *guerra defensiva* could be most effectively attained by the assumption of this office. Valdivia himself never had indicated an inclination to consider the dignity of the bishopric necessary or desirable. In fact, due in large to his own protestations, he was not made bishop of Imperial. However, he was considered free from Jesuit jurisdiction in the New World, for Aquaviva dispensed him from all such supervision, holding him directly accountable to the General himself. Various titles have been used in reference to Padre Valdivia, among which have been "vice-provincial" or "superior of the frontier missions"; the important fact, disregarding the formal title, lay in the free rein given to him.[19]

---

[16] Enrich, I, 178; *C. H.,* IV, 102-105.
[17] Enrich, I, 230, 231; Astrain, IV, 698; *C. H.,* IV, 105.
[18] *C. H.,* VIII, 290-291.

The very nature of the policy of *guerra defensiva* demanded a close cooperation of Church and State, and in this case a close union of the religious and the political programs; therefore, ecclesiastical as well as civil powers were combined in the authority of the director of the new system. At the formal meeting called to confer the necessary authority, December 9, 1610, Valdivia was intrusted with extensive and elastic powers to enable him to arrange the inauguration of defensive warfare. He was to act as civil *visitador* of Chile—equivalent to providing him with supreme political control over affairs of the Indian frontier. This appointment was subject to the approval of the viceroy; there was no doubt as to its ratification. Laden with official letters and credentials for the dignitaries of Peru and Chile, Valdivia completed preparations for his return voyage to America.[20]

As ambassador of peace for the Spanish government among hostile Indians, Valdivia was playing a significant rôle familiar to the Jesuits, who, as protectors of the Indians, ever lent their peaceful services in instances such as this when called upon by their government—from the first Jesuits in America, Manuel de Nóbrega and his companions, who served in sixteenth-century

---

[19] Rosales, II, 531; Molina, II, 266; Astrain, IV, 701, 704, 707, 710-711, 712-713; José Toribio Medina, *Diccionario Biográfico Colonial de Chile,* Santiago, 1905, 898.

[20] Astrain, IV, 705; Olivares, in *C. H.,* VII, 72.

Brazil in a similar capacity, to De Smet, "Ambassador to the Indians" in the United States in the middle nineteenth century.

III

Early in 1611 Valdivia, with nine Jesuits and two coadjutors, embarked for America. Shortly after his arrival he delivered the king's *cédulas* to the viceroy, and the latter convened a junta, which, in accord with the instructions, decreed, November 22, 1611: that offensive warfare should cease; that the Spaniards retreat to a line of defense along the Bío-Bío; that personal service no longer was to be inflicted. The governor and all the civil and military officials were instructed to cooperate with the directions of the Black Robe.[21]

On the 29th of March, 1612, the slavery law of May 26, 1608, which had condemned to bondage all natives not disposed to cease warfare, was abrogated. On September 8, 1610, a letter had been written by the king to forego the application of his 1608 ruling until *guerra defensiva* should be put into execution, and then to apply it to all natives who should not desist from offensive warfare. These latter provisions indicated that all the natives who had been paying personal service but who should agree to defensive warfare should be given their liberty. On December 8, 1610, the king had given Padre Valdivia a letter addressed to the "caciques, capitanes, toquis, i indios principales de las provincias de Chile," in which the new policy of pacification was carefully explained.

Another order was issued giving approbation to dismantling and depopulating all those forts unessential to the maintenance of the defensive frontier along the Bío-Bío. Henceforth the frontier would be guarded by the forts of Cayugauno, Yumbel, and Santa Fé to the north of the Bío-Bío, and by Nacimiento, Monterrey, San Jerónimo, and Arauco to the south of the river. Each fort was to have a stipulated squadron of resident soldiers ranging in number from 70 to 150. It was thought necessary to retain 80 soldiers in the fort of Lebo, 15 on the *estancia* of Buena Esperanza, 12 in the fort of San Pedro, 50 in the cities of Concepción and Chillan, 100 in the lower city of Castro, and the 40 of Chiloé. These statistics illustrate the comparatively few armed forces required for defensive war. The primary utility of the forts of Angol and Tucapel province had been to afford an advantageous stepping stone to further offensive tactics; they were to be immediately dismantled and abandoned. On the other hand the fort of Cuyuguano on the frontier of the Cordillera Nevada provided defense against hostile Indians as well as a shelter for friendly natives who had been subjugated; therefore seventy soldiers were assigned as guards there. The fort of Yumbel, situated in the vicinity of unusually fertile fields, was to be a type of agricultural supply house. For similar strategic reasons certain of the other forts were retained.

---

[21] Rosales, II, 531-543; Enrich, I, 231; Astrain, IV, 702; Diego Barros Arana, *Historia General de Chile,* Santiago, 1884-1902, IV, 33.

Another viceregal order to the royal Audiencia of Santiago exempted Valdivia from its jurisdiction. In this document was the constant reiteration of the trust with which the king and the viceroy respected Valdivia's ability and prudence. The viceroy repeated the authority of Valdivia to abolish personal service, to procure peaceful settlement with the natives, and to administer the requirements of defensive warfare. Further decrees prohibited, under severe penalties, the entrance of all Spaniards except the padres into the Indian territory and pardoned the Indians for their misdoings in previous revolts. Any problem that should arise in the future was to be settled at the discretion of Valdivia, who was now in complete civil and ecclesiastical authority on the troubled Indian frontier of Chile.[22]

With Chile vibrating under her difficulties, the Jesuits were already becoming aware of an increasing ill will toward themselves. As a group, they were the butt of the growing opposition especially of the soldiers and the *encomenderos*. Understandable was the opposition of the *encomenderos,* who were becoming aware of the growing prestige of the padres among the natives. In the Brazilian *aldeias,* where the padres had segregated the natives from the exploitation of the colonists, there was a vivid warning to the *encomenderos* of the possible menace to their economy which the padres might effect. There were other difficulties. The Bishop of Santiago, Fray Juan Pérez de Espinosa, continued to express his aversion towards the Society, and had been unimpressed by Diego de Torres, Provincial of Chile, who attempted a reconciliation. The stand of the Society against personal service was also met by the denunciations of those who were convinced of the futility of attempting conversion of these heathen souls. To them such gentle or humane methods of pacification as advocated by Valdivia bespoke an inability to face the realities. Under this delusion created by the men of the sword, some clerics, as well, opposed the work of Valdivia and the Jesuits. Nor did the soldiers take kindly to rigid restrictions against immorality.[23]

---

[22] For a discussion of the various decrees described above, see Rosales, II, 533-544; *C. H.,* IV, 105-111.

Torres related to Aquaviva, February 15, 1612, the struggle of the Jesuits against the form of personal service that existed in Chile. He added that the official regulations which abolished such abuses on paper, and the exhortations of the priests, were woefully disregarded. With great hope and satisfaction Torres greeted Valdivia, whose zealous labors he had always admired.[24]

On May 13, 1612, Valdivia disembarked at Penco intending to continue toward Concepción. Torres, at that time in Santiago, dispatched a message to Valdivia offering him the service of three additional fathers skilled in the Araucanian tongue and familiar with the lands. Valdivia lost no time in presenting his credentials to the *cabildo* of Concepción, where he received formal though insincere aassurance of cooperation. He sent word immediately to the superintendents of the regiments and the captains on the frontiers forbidding further *entradas* into Indian territory and demanding that mercy be bestowed on those natives already taken captive.[25]

Valdivia concluded his official preliminaries during his conferences with Governor Ribera and Bishop Espinosa. Seven days after their arrival in Concepción, Valdivia, accompanied by his friend and companion Father Gaspar Sobrino, as well as by five liberated natives from Peru, headed for the Bío-Bío. Four leagues from Concepción they met one of the principal *toquis,* Coronel by name, who expressed great joy upon seeing *los padres.* Before the end of May Valdivia was active among the Indians of the frontier. Natives were dispatched to the interior to announce the new plan of Spain to the various *toquis.* In Arauco Valdivia was visited by Indians from eighteen separate regions.[26]

Heartened by indications of interest displayed by the Indians, he journeyed throughout Arauco and Tucapel. Immediate was his success among the reduced Indians who had been dangerously restless since a revolt the previous February. He lent a patient ear to their multitude of grievances, announcing the *cédulas* of the king to them, and offering assurance that their aggravations would cease. Native *caciques* had been sent by Valdivia to herald the new policy to the *toquis* in Catiray. While awaiting a reply he found it necessary to return to Concepción to confer with Ribera.[27]

---

[23] Astrain, IV, 684; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* I, 183; Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 38, 40-41; *C. H.,* IV, 106; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 380.

[24] Pastells, I, 146-151, 200, 203-207.

[25] "Relación de lo que svcedió en el Reyno de Chile . . .," December 1612, photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society; Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 44; Enrich, I, 240, 244; Rosales, II, 548.

[26] "Relación de lo que svcedió en el Reyno de Chile . . ."

Upon Valdivia's return five *caciques* from Catiray came to him desirous of investigating these reports. To establish complete confidence in his good will, Valdivia, accompanied by but two soldiers, a friendly Indian from Lima, and three *toquis* of Arauco, departed for the treacherous land of war in Catiray. Plans were made for a convention of the most important *toquis* from the vicinity, which would take place at Nancu, near Catiray. The padre attended this junta accompanied by Captain Pinto. Here ten *reguas* were represented. For eight hours the meeting continued. Valdivia exposed the principles of the plan illustrating its advantages. He promised them that they would receive justice from the Spaniards. He reminded the natives of his position as a dual ambassador. First, he was the ecclesiastical representative, in which capacity he had preached to the Spaniards in order to remind them of their Christian obligations and the wrongs they were inflicting upon the natives. He recalled the fact that Christ had died upon the cross for the preservation of all mankind; thus the Araucanians were equal in the sight of the Lord and on that account in the sight of his ministers. Since the king wanted the principles of Christ to be practiced he had commanded the cessation of aggressive war and the abolition of personal service, desiring only that the natives share in the fruits of Christianity. Thus the king had appointed a new governor also, with instructions to live peacefully within the Spanish territory. Only in self-defense would the Spaniards fight.

Carampangui, the principal *cacique,* expressed an inclination to cooperate with the padre, but said that his followers would consider an agreement of pacification only should they be permitted to treat with the Spaniards as an independent nation. Also, before peace could be concluded, certain evils would have to be rectified and certain reforms assured. The first wrong demanding redress would necessitate the return of the Indians who, seized along the border, had been shipped away from their native soil. It was agreed that a reciprocal arrangement for the return of Spaniards and Indians was highly desirable. The *toqui* demanded that the *cédulas* of the king be enacted justly, and that in the future those *caciques* guilty of violations of the agreement be judged and punished by their own territories. Carampangui added that, since the Spaniards disavowed intentions of further aggression, the fort of San Jerónimo, valued essentially as a foothold for assault upon the natives, was unnecessary. Valdivia assured them, in the name of his Majesty, that the fort would be quitted.

---

[27] *Ibid.; C. H.,* IV, 134; Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 49.

From this assembly Valdivia returned to Santiago, where he informed the audiencia of the fortunate beginnings he had witnessed. From there he went to the fort of Talcamahuyda, where the governor had come from Concepción, and where Catirayan *toquis,* among whom was Carampangui, had assembled to treat for peace. Reassurance was given the Indians by the governor, and the toquis returned to their lands with favorable reports concerning their negotiations with the Spaniards. Twelve influential *toquis* with three of the former captives from Peru were commissioned to the land of Puren to herald the new peace. Valdivia sent messages as far south as hostile Chiloé, and the city of Chillan. Concurrently he had initiated hopeful treatings with the *toquis* of Ilicura. *Guerra defensiva* appeared to be accomplishing what *guerra ofensiva* had failed to do for over seventy years.[28]

To carry on his work most effectively, Valdivia had established two missions, one at Monterrey, the other at Arauco. He had received the assistance promised him by Torres. Fathers Horacio Vecchi and Martín de Aranda were sent to Arauco, where, to their surprise, they found not hostile infidels, but pacified natives desirous of further instruction in the Faith. At the same time Valdivia sent Fathers Vicente Modolell and Antonio de Aparicio to Monterrey. Accompanied by soldiers and by many ambassadors from Ilicura and Puren who had urged a conference with him, Valdivia again took leave of Arauco. While on the way to a place appointed for a junta, Valdivia received numerous messages from the natives, all indicating hope of peaceful negotiations. One Indian *toqui* from Catiray, Lebuilicán, journeyed to San Jerónimo to voice his suspicions of the Spanish generosity. Other *toquis* aligned themselves with those of Puren, as did likewise many of the Aylla *regua* of Tucapel. While this negative sentiment was being voiced, Llacanague, the principal *toqui* of Molloco, and the *Toqui General* of the province of the Cordillera Nevada, arrived from Puren to conclude a peaceful agreement, with the stipulation that the fort of Angol be quitted. Thus was Valdivia put in a position requiring most delicate tact.[29]

---

[28] Much confusion exists among the various historians concerning the exact proceedings of many of these juntas attended by Valdivia; thus it is to Valdivia's own accounts that one should turn for the more accurate details. Valdivia's extensive relations of the year 1612 have been photographed by the Massachusetts Historical Society: "Relación de lo qve svcedió en el Reyno de Chile defpués q el Padre Luys de Valdiuia, de la Compañía de Iesvs entró en el con fus ocho compañeros Sacerdotes de la mifma Compañía, el año de 1612," describes the success of the system until December 14, 1612. "Relación de lo qve svcedió en la jornada qve hizimos el señor Prefidente Alonfo de Ribera Gournador defte Reyno, y yo defde Arauco a Paycaui, a cocluyr las pazes de Elicura, última regua de Tucapel y las de Pueren y la Imperial," covers the period from March 1612 to December 24, 1612. This was sent to his brother in Lima. "Relación de la muerte de los padres escrita por el Padre Valdivia a 24 de Diziembre de mil syscientos y doze al padre Provincial de Lima." It is to these three relations that constant reference must be made to clarify obscurities in the narrators concerning this year of 1612.

These documents will be cited hereinafter as Valdivia's *Relations,* MS.

In the late summer of 1612 a minor crisis developed which was a culmination of many diverse events and elements. Tureulipe, a native *toqui* who had been held as a prisoner of war since 1611, had recently obtained his freedom. His descriptions of his captivity, his orations against the Spaniards, his derision towards the mediation of Father Valdivia, carried weight among his people. So potent an influence did he exert that he was able to lead an attack against Arauco. Not only did the Spanish forces successfully resist the assault, but the irate *toqui* was again taken prisoner. He finally consented to treat with Valdivia. The incident, however, indicated subversive elements at work. Valdivia hastened to dispatch an ambassador to the *toquis* of Catiray with generous peace offers. The same messenger was to meet the other *toquis* of Puren and Imperial to arrange for peace negotiations. Meanwhile, Ribera and an impressive regiment entered Puren to watch for a movement that might change this stage of indecision to one of war.[30]

The noted belligerent *toqui* of Puren, Anganamon, agreed to sit in at a conference. Valdivia and his companions went to Paicavi, where they awaited the arrival of Anganamon. Nor were they long in waiting. With a guard of forty soldiers, Anganamon brought numerous Spanish prisoners, whom he liberated hoping to receive a similar gesture from the Spaniards. Terms of peace were discussed. Anganamon was deeply impressed by Valdivia's sermon on the possibilities of peace through *guerra defensiva.* Arrangements were made for the exchange of prisoners of war;

---

[29] Valdivia's *Relations,* MS.; *C. H.,* XIII, 109; Rosales, II, 560-561.
[30] Rosales, II, 559.

plans were formulated for a general conference on peace. Anganamon had requested the evacuation of the forts of Paicavi and of Arauco as essential provisions in a peace settlement; the first was promised without reservation, and the second was to be accomplished after the negotiations had come to a definite conclusive treaty.[31]

Anganamon departed. Meanwhile, three of his wives, with two of his children, escaped to the fort of Paicavi. Anganamon, upon hearing of this, communicated immediately with the Spaniards. As he was impatiently awaiting a reply, a meeting of theologians and jurists convened to settle the difficulty. The question was a vexing one. Would a return of the wives be equivalent to sanctioning polygamy? It was decided that Anganamon be given his choice among his wives, be reduced to Christianity, and contract a legal marriage in the Church. The decision angered the infidel chief, who understood only that these Christian Spaniards were refusing to return his property.

Meanwhile, other incidents occurred which revived the hope of a satisfactory peace negotiation. There came to Valdivia the septagenarian Utilflame, a *toqui* of import, who hitherto had been one of the most hostile rebels. Valdivia's gentle treatment so touched the haughty chief, that he turned his powers of influence toward averting bloodshed in an uprising against the intruders and toward mediation between his people of Ilicura and the Spaniards. Numerous *toquis* of Puren followed the example of their neighbors from Ilicura. So it was that Valdivia and the governor witnessed a peaceful congregation composed largely of recently most rabid enemies of the Spaniards. Striking the keynote of the discussion, Utilflame delivered an oration warmly advocating peaceful settlement. He asked the Spaniards to quit the fort of Paicavi, and to send padres to evangelize his people, while excluding the military and civil men, whose *entradas,* regardless of their intention, still kindled suspicion in the minds of the natives. Cognizant of the bitterness the incident was provoking, he advocated more lenient terms to Anganamon. With the promise to have the fort quitted, Valdivia further agreed with Utilflame that Anganamon should not be antagonized beyond endurance, though Christian standards could not be forsaken. An exchange of compacts followed, especially one to continue these preliminaries to permanent peace. The remarkable junta which, due to the Black Robes, witnessed words instead of war between former most bitter enemies, drew to a close.[32]

---

[31] *C. H.,* VIII, 292, 296; Rosales, II, 561-562; Molina, II, 267-268; Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 57.

That night, December 7, 1612, an atmosphere of unrest permeated the camp. The officers were dubious. Valdivia prayed for many hours during the night that he might act prudently. The following day he ordered the demolition of Paicavi; he prepared to send two padres to seek out Anganamon in order to give full explanations of points discussed the day before, and in order to comply with the requests for padres made by the *toquis* of Puren. Work began immediately upon the destruction of the fort of Paicavi. Ribera retired to Arauco with his army; Valdivia remained in the fort of Lebu, which after the demolition of Paicavi served as the most useful outpost on the new line of frontier.[33]

Fears were enunciated concerning the intended entrance of the fathers into Anganamon's hostile land. Despite the opposition, Valdivia deemed it wisest to comply with the requests of the *toquis* from Ilicura and from Puren, lest the Indians be aroused to doubt the good faith of the Jesuits. Barros Arana has referred to the *entrada* of the padres as "utter folly."[34] He failed to take into account that the harvesting of souls of the infidels was their primary mission in the New World, and that such an undertaking necessitated obvious risks. Fathers Vecchi and Aranda, and the brother coadjutor Diego de Montalbán, were selected for this dangerous mission. Accompanying them was the influential Utilflame and the *toqui* Paineguil. But Anganamon was in a savage mood. With one hundred Indians of Pellabuen, he descended upon them, slaying the group without awaiting an explanation of their mission.[35]

IV

Those in opposition to *guerra defensiva* had been awaiting just such an indication of its fatuity. The protestations of the *caciques* of Puren and Ilicura that this crime was not of their doing, indeed, the repudiation of the deed by many of the hundred of Anganamon's ranks, unsympathetic with the murders, fell upon deaf ears. Forgotten was the fact that within the short period of eight months under the direction of Valdivia peace had been established among the recent rebels of Arauco, among the inhabitants of Catiray who had been most fierce in their opposition, and among those of Monterrey who had previously displayed successful resistance to all military force. Forgotten by opponents to the plan were all the *toquis* of Puren and Ilicura, save Anganamon, whom they typified as the native. *Cédulas* which still authorized the special civil, military, and ecclesiastical authority of Valdivia were ignored. Governor Ribera soon discarded the qualities attributed to him by Valdivia when the padre had spoken for him as governor. Before the year 1613 drew to a close the governor had directed twenty-two military expeditions. Anganamon grasped his opportunity in these hostile Spanish *entradas* to vindicate his actions, and both the tribes of Imperial and of Puren were pitched to new depths of hatred and distrust of the Spaniards.[36]

---

[32] Valdivia's *Relations,* MS.; Molina, II, 268-269; Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 57; *C. H.,* VIII, 297-299; Rosales, II, 370-371, 378.

[33] Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 59, 65.

[34] *Ibid.,* 63-65.

[35] Valdivia's *Relations,* MS.; Matias Tanner, S. J., *Societas Iesu usque ad sanguinim . . .,"* Rome, 1665, 464.

Valdivia meantime traveled in desperation from *toqui* to *toqui,* trying to salvage the accomplishments achieved prior to this outburst. Under the prevalent most difficult circumstances it seemed quite impossible to convey any impression that he still held his official capacity and that regardless of contrary demonstrations of the governor, the king desired the plan of *guerra defensiva* to be effective. Resentful of the authority possessed by Valdivia, which, though little respected, was still official, Governor Ribera wrote to Felipe III requesting a limitation of the jurisdiction of the padre.[37]

Valdivia, Torres, the Society itself, were caught in a wave of public animosity. The *ayuntamientos* of Santiago and of Concepción sent joint *memorials* to the king voicing common indignation towards the entire plan fostered by the Jesuit. While ample discussion has been devoted to the more pragmatically motivated group in opposition to Valdivia, there was another minority group far more sincere in its protestations. The majority of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians had been persuaded by the testimony of the soldiers who, having engaged in combat with the fierce Araucanians, had concluded that men of so savage a nature could only be subdued by armed force. In their protestations against *guerra defensiva,* with its consequent ban upon personal service, the *cabildos* of La Serena, Santiago, and Concepción appointed the guardian of the convent of San Francisco, Fray Pedro de Sosa, to present their case to Felipe

---

[36] Valdivia's *Relations,* MS.; *C. H.,* XXIX, 20; Rosales, II, 593.
[37] Astrain, IV, 721, 724.

III. Fray Pedro recently had been devoting his sermons to denunciations of Padre Valdivia's activities, intermingling personal accusations against the padre although he was unable to substantiate such libelous statements. So serious had his accusations become that the *oidores* found it necessary to ban such discussions being given from the pulpit. Fray Pedro was sent to Spain with the sanction of Ribera, and Colonel Pedro Cortés was dispatched by the army men to represent their grievances against *guerra defensiva.* The two embarked for Spain in April 1613. Valdivia sent Father Melchor Venegas to defend his case in Peru, and to Madrid he sent his close companion, Gaspar Sobrino.[38]

While Valdivia was vainly attempting to stop the flow of weapons streaming under Ribera's orders,[39] a war of words ensued in Peru and Spain. For two years, from 1614 to 1616, the heated debate continued.[40] Cortés attributed all Chile's existing difficulties to the eight month experiment of *guerra defensiva;* despite the fact that Chile had been suffering acutely for over seventy years while *guerra ofensiva* was the sole policy. He enumerated an impressive list of damages inflicted by the natives; in order to prevent further damage he asked Spain for large military reinforcements and more weapons of war. Emphasizing the savage state of the natives, he added that it was quite impossible to retain their respect for the soldier under the humiliating leniency required in *guerra defensiva.* Far more difficult to hurdle was the argument presented by Fray Pedro de Sosa. Fray Pedro branded defensive warfare as not only ineffectual, but in its execution certain to place the Spaniards in actual danger, since defensive action would invite invasion by the Araucanians. It was essential to continue consistently a military move southward through Araucanian territory; otherwise, the Araucanians would take the initiative and resume their perennial attacks northward throughout Spanish lands. He scoffed at the possibility of attaining a static position with the Bío-Bío as a dividing line. He was disinclined to inconvenience the *encomenderos,* whom he hailed as preservers of the peace and bulwarks of society, by forcing them to suffer the consequences of the abolition of personal service. Besides, the Indians could only adequately satisfy their obligation of tribute to the Crown by paying such personal service. Only through personal service could the Indian be taught obedience to the kingdom of Spain and fidelity to the Faith. He attributed the rebellion of the Indians not to abusive treatment, but to their violent and savage nature. When the sword had cut away these evil characteristics, then would the path be clear for the cross. He argued that should the Araucanians be given such freedom as fostered by Valdivia they would abuse the liberty by reverting to their savage pattern of life, menacing all development of civilization and conversion of Chile. Focusing attention upon the failures of the Franciscans and the Mercedarians among the natives, he was extremely skeptical that another order could accomplish what these zealous friars failed to do. To disprove a claim of accomplishment and good will, he, too, referred to the martyrdoms of the Jesuits at the hands of Anganamon. To rid the land of the more bellicose Indians he favored their deportation to Peru.

---

[38] *C. H.,* XXIV, 387-388, 400, 412; *C. H.,* XXIX, 21-22; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* II, 155; Astrain, IV, 723-724; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 384.

[39] Rosales, II, 596.

[40] The various memorials presenting the arguments of the participants in these debates are printed in Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* II, 123-208.

In defense of the official though much transgressed policy of *guerra defensiva,* Father Sobrino stated that according to Christian ethics it was the only desirable or permissable method of pacification. He refused to admit that the means adopted, of slavery and the sword, could justify the end sought, which was peace. During many years both had proved ineffective in attaining spiritual or temporal gain. Aside from the religious implications, he recalled that Padre Valdivia, through his methods, established peace in the hitherto rebellious Arauco, Tucapel, and Catiray. Previous to the martyrdoms remarkable progress had also been made in Ilicura and even Puren. He regretted that the one incident, the slaying of the Jesuits by one enraged *toqui* with a comparitively small following, should be interpreted as a universal uprising against which the Spaniards should have displayed such vigorous vindictiveness. Sobrino spoke realistically of the defects in the character and morality of the Araucanians; however, he insisted that they were not hopelessly degenerate, but rather ignorant. Valdivia, he related, had traveled extensively in the hostile land, accompanied most frequently by but a single soldier, reducing many natives to peace. Sobrino, who had also labored among these Araucanians, had witnessed evidence sufficient to convince him of the plausibility, advisability, and practicability of *guerra defensiva,* if given a sufficient trial.

One factor bearing upon the authority of the debaters lay in the point that Fray Pedro, who had spoken so strongly concerning the nature of the natives, had personally resided but a brief while in Chile, during which time he had remained in Santiago among the Spaniards, rarely coming in contact with the Indians of the vicinity, and never with those farther removed, whereas Sobrino had lived among these tribes, depended upon them as guides and friends, and traveled far into their lands with Valdivia, who possessed a richer fund of direct knowledge concerning the Araucanians than any or all of his opponents combined.

Impressed by the logic of Sobrino, the Council of the Indies and the king found no sufficient motive to discontinue *guerra defensiva.* Thus, on November 21, 1615, Felipe III issued a *cédula* directing the continuance of the policy. Following this *cédula,* January 3, 1616, he sent a letter voicing his approval of Padre Valdivia's efforts.[41] On paper, Valdivia had won his point. Yet Chile was a good distance from the king and Spain; the royal *cédulas* and sanctions were to be disregarded.

Valdivia was helpless in preventing the unofficial and unauthorized resumption of offensive hostilities. Regardless of the injustices against themselves, many natives who had been reduced by Valdivia and his companions retained an allegiance to the Spaniards to the extent of engaging in battles against rebellious Indian tribes. The allegiance of the pacified Indians, however, could not balance the loss of trust of the undecided natives who had been bordering upon a peaceful settlement but who had violently retreated from such considerations after witnessing the governor's repudiation by action of his verbal promises.

Alonso de Ribera had contradicted the orders of the viceroy and the king by scoffing at the authority of Valdivia. He had made unfriendly excursions into enemy territory. He had prohibited Jesuits from entering the rebellious land, while he supervised further enslavement of the natives. With far less success was Valdivia able to combat the hostility of the Spanish opposition than that of the infidel Indian. Nor did indignation apply only to Valdivia personally; the Society to which he belonged was involved. The interference of the Society in behalf of the natives had struck fear and anger in the hearts of soldier and *encomendero,* who cried that matters such as labor should remain in the hands of the military and civil authorities; let the padres concern themselves only with religious matters.[42]

---

[41] Astrain, V, 627; Enrich, I, 317.

In January 1617, Sobrino arrived in Lima, bearing dispatches of the king and Council of the Indies which approved the continuance of *guerra defensiva.* The recently appointed viceroy, Principe de Esquilache, was, as had been his predecessors, in accord with the instructions to carry on in the attempts to establish peace through this system. Sobrino departed from Lima for Chile, where in March he delivered the royal orders. In essence these provided that: (1) the governor of Chile must prosecute only defensive war; (2) Valdivia alone should interpret the definition of defensive warfare; (3) the padres should pacify the Indians; (4) the governor should at all times comply with the regulations of Padre Valdivia in regard to the natives; (5) as many religious as Padre Valdivia judged necessary were to enter the Araucanian territory; (6) missions should be established wherever Padre Valdivia deemed wisest; (7) the viceroy of Peru should name a *visitador general* to inquire regarding the adherence given these regulations in Chile; (8) Spanish soldiers or tradesmen were to be banned from Araucanian territory; (9) all prisoners of war agreeing to abide by the principles of *guerra defensiva* should be released; (10) all prisoners captured in the future should be held in custody with the object of exchanging them for Spanish captives. The viceroy had appointed the fiscal of the Audiencia of Lima, Fernando Machado, *visitador* to report the obedience given these commands.[43]

Meanwhile, Ribera had passed away, and was succeeded temporarily in the governorship by Licentiate Fernando Talaverano Gallegos, *oidor* of the Royal Audiencia of Santiago. Without delay he hastened to the frontier to review the situation, giving particular attention to the *estados* of Arauco and Yumbel, where he communicated directly with numerous natives. Though formerly he had displayed indications of a disapproval of *guerra defensiva,* he now evidenced his intention to give full cooperation to Valdivia. With this attitude on the part of Talaverano, and subsequently on the part of his successor, Valdivia once again picked up the gnarled threads of his former achievements. He again sent messages throughout the lands announcing the resumption of cordiality of the new governor and repeating the often uttered desire for peace. To substantiate these messages Valdivia declared free all those Indians who had been held in captivity during "Ribera's war." Jubilantly the padre received replies indicative of a willingness on the part of the natives to attempt again peace negotiations. *Toquis* from the cordilleras visited him at Nacimiento revealing that despite the unpleasantness which had intervened, they still retained a confidence in his kind of peace. On the frontier of Arauco, and similarly on that of Yumbel, thousands of Indians received the sacrament of Baptism. Christian marriages were contracted. Instruction in the Faith was avidly sought. The zeal of the Jesuits was bearing bountiful fruit.[44]

---

[42] Rosales, II, 604-605, 607; Enrich, I, 277-278; Astrain, IV, 721-722; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 389.

[43] Astrain, V, 628, 629, 638; Rosales, II, 622-625; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* I, 185-187; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 389-390.

Twelve *caciques* sought Valdivia in Santa Fé to deliver a welcome message: in Puren and the neighboring territory the majority of *toquis* and natives, contrary to Tureulipe and Anganamon, were anxious to discuss terms of peace with the padre. At a large council held the previous October 5, on the site of Lleolleo, the *caciques* and *toquis* of the provinces of Ayllareguas or Puren had reached the decision to secure peace based upon the suggestions of Valdivia. Thus they had been sent not only as messengers, but as plenipotentiaries empowered to negotiate peace with Valdivia and Governor Talaverano.

Delighted with their message, Valdivia promised in the name of the king that there should be no transgression of the soldiers or civilians within their territory; reciprocally, they were to respect the Spanish lands. To prevent possible difficulty and still permit a degree of commercial activity, the natives were to limit their trade route to a certain path to Nacimiento, and were to enter only when they possessed a license issued by the captain of the fort. Further arrangements provided for an exchange of prisoners of war; a non-interference pact was agreed upon whereby neither Spaniard nor Indian was to interfere in the internal disagreements of the other.[45]

Valdivia was ever on the alert to improve conditions within the ranks of the natives. He organized a patrol of the finest Indian warriors to prevent the native highwaymen from entering Spanish land and to serve as a guard within their own borders. Especially serviceable were these squads in Puren. The natives gave enthusiastic support to this innovation. They had cooperated very little with the former *toquis* Anganamon and Tureulipe;

---

[44] Rosales, II, 619-629.
[45] *Ibid.*, II, 631-633.

now they were willing to organize to rid their territory of the harm wrought by these members of their tribe. Even the *toquis* of Pellagien, where Anganamon had previously managed to solicit followers, denounced him, following Pelantara instead in paths of peace. They consulted the padre to determine the most suitable punishment that should be pronounced against Anganamon, who had rebelled not only against the Spaniards but against all the *toquis* of the vicinity when they had expressed a desire for peace. Valdivia was far less harsh in his judgment than were Anganamon's former companions. He pardoned the *toqui* of all his misdeeds, citing in particular, the murder of the Jesuits. Thus did he hope to convince Anganamon of the existence of the Christian virtue of charity. Anganamon could not disband his fear of punishment for his crime. He could not believe that this message was anything but a hoax in order to seize him for retaliation.[46]

In January 1618, the viceroy chose as successor to Ribera, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos. Concentrating his attention upon the frontier problem, the new governor cooperated fully with Padre Valdivia. Under the instructions of Valdivia, he depopulated the fort of San Jerónimo. He settled the *torren* of San Ignacio, congregating there Indians of Cayuguanu that they might be protected by Spanish arms. Defensive forts were established in Talcamavida, while those along the cordillera from San Lupercia and Santa Elena were abandoned. Padre Valdivia once more was rapidly achieving success, overcoming the enormous disadvantages caused by the devastation growing out of Ribera's belligerency.[47]

The new governor did not acquire any popularity in his efforts to comply with the instructions of the viceroy. He angered the *encomenderos;* in a letter dated May 20, 1618, Ulloa y Lemos wrote that he did not have eight friends in the entire territory of Chile. The *cabildo* of Santiago, composed mainly of *encomenderos,* resorted to active measures to renounce the abolition of personal service. Unsuccessful in moving the governor by arguments that had been expounded and refuted since Valdivia first introduced his system, the *cabildo* again determined to report to the king the miserable failure of *guerra defensiva.* After dispatching a *cabildo* member to the frontier to substantiate its claims, it was disappointed to learn of the notable progress being achieved from Chilean to Concepción. The members were forced to alter their mode of attack. In the latter part of August an open *cabildo* was arranged. At this gathering a decision to organize thoroughly against the abolition of personal service was enacted. During a following session the motion was adopted to communicate with all the *corregidores* of the bishopric of Santiago in order to swell the already impressive list of official objectors. Aware of the organized enmity of the *cabildo* of Santiago, Valdivia bluntly denounced its activities. Immediate reaction to this was the charge that he was attempting to take Chile completely under control.[48]

---

[46] *Ibid.,* II, 633-637.

[47] *Ibid.,* II, 638-640; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 393.

Valdivia, ceaseless in his activities in behalf of the Araucanians, had accumulated a harvest of animosity among the Spaniards in Chile. Though he had labored splendidly, blazing a spiritual path among the natives, his work could be carried on by others. At this juncture his very presence in Chile was thought by some of his fellow Jesuits to serve only as further aggravation of the Spaniards towards the Society. Some saw no necessity for such wide jurisdiction as Valdivia possessed, among them the successor of Aquaviva in the generalate, Mutius Vitelleschi. In a letter dated April 30, 1619, Vitelleschi placed Valdivia under the supervision of the provincial of Paraguay.[49]

In March 1619, Valdivia proposed to go to Spain in order to report his progress to the king. At the moment he was enjoying increased success among the natives in their own territory. The Bío-Bío border was respected by the governor, Ulloa. It was north of the Bío-Bío that *guerra defensiva* was defeated. The abolition of the abuses of personal service—one of the primary requisities of the system—was impeded at every turn by the *encomenderos* and the soldiers. Efforts to remove the Indians from Spanish exploitation even brought upon the Jesuits the accusation that they were merely trying to dissemble their own attempts to exclusive exploitation of the natives.[50]

To resolve all these elements into their unhappy climax, Valdivia was confronted with another enemy—his own discouragement. He sailed for Lima in November of 1619, never to return to Chile and his Araucanians. In a letter to the king, written November 3, 1619, Valdivia excused his departure with the complaint that after his many years of labor among the Indians he had withstood tremendous opposition, even mendacious testimony against his character; now he could bear no further insult. He remained in Lima about five months, and in the summer of 1620, he departed for Spain.[51]

---

[48] Barros Arana, *Historia,* IV, 138-139; *C. H.,* XXV, 254-255, 281-290, 356-357; *C. H.,* XXVIII, 74; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 396, 398-399; Astrain, V, 630; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* II, 220.

[49] Astrain, V, 630-631, 636-637.

[50] *Ibid.,* V, 637.

In view of the padre's civil obligations, and the interest of the king in the Chilean situation, he reported to the Crown, and discussed the affair before the Council. This mission concluded, Vitelleschi, on August 30, 1621, assigned Father Valdivia to the college of Valladolid, where he became prefect of studies. After the storm had passed, Vitelleschi assured him that the charges and subsequent investigations endured by him in no way reflected upon his noble efforts or impaired his reputation in the Society. For twenty years he conscientiously discharged his duties at Valladolid.[52]

V

Upon his departure from Chile Valdivia had obtained the promise of Governor Ulloa y Lemos to continue his efforts to prosecute *guerra defensiva.* Nevertheless, Ulloa left no evidence of achievement in this regard when he died in December 1620. The policy of his successor in the governorship, Cristóbal de la Cerda, was even more disheartening in this regard.

Mention should be given the *Tasa de Esquilache,* not because it was effective, but because it was a typical failure. This plan to ban obligatory service, requiring in substitution a monetary tribute, was formulated by the viceroy, Principe de Esquilache, under the guidance of Valdivia. It was submitted to the king March 28, 1620; on the 8th of December, 1622, it received royal recognition. The purpose of the *Tasa* was to free the natives of all expense that was necessary to maintain defensive garrisons for their own protection. Like all other efforts to prevent Indian servitude, this also met with the powerful local opposition of the *encomenderos.* The octogenarian successor of Ulloa y Lemos, Pedro Osores de Ulloa, had been delegated to represent the undesirable limitations of the *Tasa* to the Council and king. He was in theoretical accord with the plan of Valdivia, though he was convinced of the impossibility of its practical application. With the proposal to reform the abuses existant in the contemporary infliction of personal service, he received the approval of numerous influential ecclesiastics of Spain. As indicated, the *Tasa de Esquilache* sank into the oblivion of defeat.[53]

---

[51] Rosales, II, 619; Astrain, V, 637-639, 640-643, 696-704.

[52] Astrain, V, 643-646; Domingo Amunátegui y Solar, *Jesuitas, Gobernantes, Militares y Escritores,* Santiago, 1934, 33.

The last ember of Valdivia's achievements was stamped out on January 24, 1626. On that date the royal *cédula* of Felipe IV was publicly proclaimed by Luis Fernández de Córdova declaring the official termination of the policy of *guerra defensiva.*[54] Valdivia heard the official pronouncements of the failure. He knew of the continued slaveholding and slavetrading policy of the *encomenderos* and soldiers. He saw the triumph of the enemies of defensive, as opposed to offensive, Indian war in Chile. His death, November 5, 1642, closed the sequel of his existence; his departure from Chile twenty-three years previously had closed the chapter of his life among the Araucanians.

The defeat of *guerra defensiva* was a defeat socially, economically, and religiously of Spanish progress in Chile. Continual warfare resulted in a developed sense of insecurity detrimental to colonial morale. True, a treaty of 1641 conceded all lands south of the Bío-Bío to the Araucanians. Eventually, cessation of hostilities was to be effected only by a pact recognizing the Araucanians as an independent nation in 1881, thus ending "a conflict which might well be called the Three Hundred and Forty Years' War."[55] The animosity evidenced towards the Jesuits during Valdivia's crusade for *guerra defensiva* was not to decrease; it was inspired in great part by economic factors influential in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions in 1767. As for Valdivia, his noble work, in advance of his times, has long been vindicated, and the very mention of his name in Chile today suggests a single title: "Protector of the Araucanians."

BEATRICE BLUM

Graduate School
Loyola University

---

[53] Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena,* I, 134-167; Amunátegui, *Las Encomiendas,* I, 411-425, 430-436, 443-445.

[54] *C. H.,* II, 210-213.

[55] Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America,* New York, 1933, 61.

Notes and Comment

BOOKS

Professor Kenneth S. Latourette of Yale University has completed the fourth volume of his *A History of the Expansion of Christianity,* published by Harper and Brothers, New York. This section of the eight-volume undertaking is devoted chiefly to the history of various Christian denominations in the United States for the hundred years preceding the first World War. Other volumes by the scholarly writer are to trace the progress of Christianity as it took root and developed on the continents of South America, Australia, Asia, and Africa. Anyone may tabulate the difficulties, the drawbacks, and the good points of a work of such tremendous scope. Some might consider that a project of the kind would of its nature develop only into "something to shoot at." But Professor Latourette has gone far beyond expectations in arranging his synthesis within the confines of limited space. The benefits to readers and scholars in this case will far outweigh the defects for which the author apologizes, and the fair-mindedness of the approach and the good bibliography will do much to make critics forget the several errors of interpretation and omission with respect to details of history and dogma.

American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., published in 1941 *The Economic Defense of the Western Hemisphere: A Study in Conflicts.* This is a symposium of the Latin American Economic Institute, with contributions by authorities, on the economic problems which have arisen as a result of the present World War. The papers are devoted to "The Influences of the Second World War," "Canada as an American Problem," "Inter-American Collaboration," "A Businessman's Program," "The Totalitarian Aggressors," "Britain's Rivalry," "Brazil's Nationalist Economy," and "Some Basic Considerations." These studies should be read with great profit by anyone interested in our future economic program; they may be studied well by many professors of history and economics.

An Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Parish, by Reverend Joseph I. Hartmann, was published at Maumee, Ohio, last year. This brochure of seventy-seven pages traces the development of Maumee and its old parish over the years 1841 to 1941. The historical significance of the Ohio area centered around Maumee is traced in a preface article, "The Maumee Valley, One of the Keys to the Continent," by Edward J. Eggl. Father Hartmann has amplified his graphic account of St. Joseph's with a map, facsimiles, and photographic illustrations.

Attention should be called here to a readable and informative little book about an important Catholic priest of French Revolutionary times. This is *The Curé of Ruillé,* a sketch of the Very Reverend Francis Dujarié, founder of the Sisters of Providence, well-known teaching order of the United States, and of the Brothers of Saint Joseph of Ruillé. The book is by Brother Ephrem, C. S. C., and it is published by Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State, compiled by writers of the Works Progress Administration under the sponsorship of the Washington State Historical Society, appeared in 1941. This completes the American Guide Series prepared by the WPA. There is now a long shelf of volumes, some of which are remarkable for historical inaccuracies and others of which, more carefully supervised and checked, are well worthy of the national effort and expenditures required in the production of the series. Already, histories of cities and localities have appeared as enlargements of the more general works.

Much historical writing is being centered about the rivers and their valleys throughout the United States. No one can gainsay the importance of many of the waterways in the development of our social, political, and economic life. Rivers and their valleys are obvious focal points for studies of history; around them have gathered lore, songs, and stories. It is not surprising then that the Rivers of America Series of books was begun. The newest addition to this series is *The Charles,* by Arthur B. Tourtellot, published by Farrar and Rinehart.

Following the same approach the State Historical Society of Iowa published *Iowa: Her Rivers and Her Valleys,* by William J. Petersen. This, one of a series of books commemorating the establishment of the state in 1846, describes what transpired in the basin of each of the streams of Iowa.

Under the general editorship of Lawrence K. Fox, the State Historical Society of South Dakota has issued the nineteenth volume of *South Dakota Historical Collections.* The volume consists of three sections: "First Journey to North America," by Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wuerttemberg, translated by William G. Bek, pp. 7-463; "Supplementary Material Relating to Prince Paul"; and "Dakota, An Autobiography of a Cowman," by W. H. Hamilton, pp. 475-638.

Just a few months off the press is an important technical manual by J. Villasana Haggard and Malcolm D. McLean, entitled *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents,* Archives Collection, The University of Texas, 1941, pp. vii, 198. Published under the auspices of the Institute of Latin American Studies, it fills a long felt need. It is divided into five chapters: Theory, Paleography, Procedure of Translation, Special Aids, and Transcription. Three appendixes contain specimen documents with transcriptions and translations, specimens of handwriting, and pertinent lists of manuscript alphabet.

In the chapter on special aids a few improvements by way of expansion could be made in the lists of standardized and special expressions, and in the list of symbols on page 67, with a more balanced representation for each of the three centuries of the colonial period. The volume will be especially useful to students of the history of New Spain and its outlying provinces. The above suggestions do not detract in the least from this brilliant and extremely useful little book. It cannot be too highly recommended to those engaged in the translation of Spanish documents into English.

Miguel Cascón, S. J., has made a valuable contribution to the study of Spanish intellectual history through the publication of his scholarly volume *Los Jesuítas en Menéndez Pelayo,* Valladolid, 1940, pp. 613. The volume surveys the broad story of Spanish Jesuit contributions to science, scholarship, literature, and general culture. About one-third of the work is devoted to the eighteenth century. It should be of special interest to students of eighteenth-century Spanish American intellectual history.

PERIODICALS

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, December 1941, has an article "John Hagen, Eminent European Astronomer, Sojourns in Wisconsin," by W. B. Faherty. In this, Father Hagen's astronomical work at Prairie du Chien, done in collaboration with the Washburn Observatory at Madison, is summarized. . . . The editors of *Social Science* dedicating January 1941 as Pan-American Number, printed articles pertinent to social problems of the southern republics. . . . The newly formed American Association for State and Local History is publishing an eight-page, bi-monthly named *The State and Local History News*. . . . A feature of *Missouri Historical Review,* January 1942, is Floyd C. Shoemaker's "St. Charles, City of Paradoxes." The little city near St. Louis recently celebrated the 150th anniversary of its naming. . . . The *Bulletins* of the National Archives, issued irregularly and distributed by the Administrative Secretary, The National Archives, Washington, D. C., offer exceedingly important instructions. Especially is this true of Number 3, December 1941, which consists of thirty pages on "The Care of Records in a National Emergency," a joint report of the Special Committees of the Society of American Archivists, on the protection and transfer of archives during the hazards of war. When, where, and how to evacuate valuable materials, methods of storage, and means of protection are discussed in detail.

Book Reviews

Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi. By Edmund Robert Murphy. (Institut Français de Washington.) The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1941. Pp. ix, 129.

This book is a first step toward correcting a mistaken impression which has arisen from the unbounded adulation of La Salle's panegyrists. From every point of view Tonti's achievements are comparable to those of La Salle and in some respects even superior to them. He was a better business man, and a more successful leader of men than the over-touted La Salle. As indicated in the subtitle, the book is not a full-length biography, but merely recounts Tonti's activities as a fur-trader.

It is doubtful if in preparing a more extensive biography of Tonti, anyone will manage to find much new material regarding the pioneer's early life. Mr. Murphy has given a unified presentation of the scattered and scanty information available concerning Tonti before his coming to America. For the quarter of a century from 1678 until 1704, the year of Tonti's death, the basic documentation for his career is to be found in his own writings, in the official correspondence, in the notarial registers, and in the council records. Most of what concerns Tonti in the notarial registers has been published by Pease and Werner. As for the council records—and the only ones are those of the Sovereign Council of Quebec—there are, in the 6,000 printed pages of the proceedings of this court, only two references to Henry Tonti, both of them indirect. With regard to the official correspondence, the documentation which is as yet unpublished will not substantially change the picture as far as Tonti himself is concerned, nor will it shed much new light on the fur-trade as a whole.

The date and place of Tonti's birth are not certain. As for the date of his death, all we know is that, as Mr. Murphy says, it occurred "shortly after September 6, 1704." A recent critic has objected to this date on the ground that Bienville's letter, cited by Mr. Murphy as evidence, was itself dated September 6, 1704, and hence that Tonti's death must have occurred previously. Bienville's mention of Tonti's death, however, occurs not in the letter itself, but in a postscript which reads as follows: "Since I had the honor of writing you this present letter two of my officers have died, Messrs. Levasseur and de Tonti. . . ." Mr. Murphy deserves further commendation for his intelligent use of some of the printed documentation. Thus, though admitting that he did not see the original of a document which he quotes from Pease and Werner (*Illinois Historical Collections,* XXIII, 396), he correctly surmised that the words "seigneur de *Ville* de Tonty," as printed in the above cited publication should read "seigneur de *lille* de Tonty." That such an error of transcription should take place will not surprise anyone who has deciphered Tonti's crabbed handwriting. A study of the document itself leaves no room for doubt that the first letter of the word underscored is an initial small *l,* and not a capital *V,* for the same letter occurs as an unmistakable initial small *l* in several places in the same document. This fact which was flatly denied by a recent reviewer (*Journal of Southern History,* VII, 551-552) on the basis of a photostat of the document, is incontrovertible. The present reviewer is certain of it owing to a careful comparison of the document in question with two other holograph Tonti manuscripts published in MID-AMERICA a few years ago.

A noticeable shortcoming in the book under consideration is the recurrence of digressions; although Tonti took an active part in the campaign of 1687, a detailed narrative of this campaign in a book dealing with Tonti's activities as a fur-trader is a *hors-d'oeuvre* which could have been dispensed with, or at least the account of this campaign should have been given more briefly. A more serious shortcoming is the author's indiscriminate use of evidence. He often quotes from second or third hand modern writers instead of from the contemporary text which he had. On page 14, note 9, Mr. Murphy gives as evidence for the wounding of Tonti by the Iroquois in 1680, first, the narrative of Father Membré as translated by Shea out of Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France.* Le Clercq's narrative is of hardly any value as primary, independent evidence, since it is mostly made up of miscellaneous accounts, obviously doctored, which were extant in Le Clercq's time and which his editors attributed to various Recollect missionaries. Mr. Murphy's next authority is the *New Discovery.* The account of Tonti's wounding in this book was taken bodily out of Le Clercq by Hennepin. The third authority here cited is Bernou's "Relation des découvertes." This was written in Paris, and is a paraphase of La Salle's letter, which Mr. Murphy puts last on his list of evidence: "See also, Margry II, 122-124." This last bit of evidence, so casually referred to is of a higher order than any of those previously mentioned; for La Salle's account is based on Tonti's own story of the affair. Of less value is Murphy's next authority, Frontenac's letter to the king. As for La Potherie, he is hardly an "authority" in any sense. Strangely enough, the author fails to quote in this connection a document which he had and which is the most authoritative evidence available: Tonti's memoir of 1684. He does quote Tonti's memoir of 1693, but apparently considers it less reliable than Le Clercq, Hennepin, and Bernou who are listed before it. That Tonti's first memoir, 1684, is a better authority than his second memoir, 1693, will readily be granted by those who take into consideration the quite natural tendency to embroider on one's experiences after a lapse of several years.

Somewhat in the same order is Mr. Murphy's use of Joutel. Instead of quoting the original French as found in Margry, he relies on a reprint of the English translation of De Michel's abridgment. A critical use of Joutel's unabridged evidence would have greatly improved the chapter entitled "The Broken Link with the Gulf and Other Liabilities." Some errors in names and in identification would thus have been avoided. For instance, the name of the Recollect Father is Anastase, Anastasius in English; the name of the Sulpician is Jean Cavelier, not Cavelier de la Salle. The title of nobility was granted to Robert Cavelier, to "his children and posterity, born and to be born in lawful wedlock," but not to his brother, who in fact never used the name "de la Salle." Hence the sentence on page 53 should read: "The visitors included Henri Joutel, the Abbé Jean Cavelier, a nephew of Cavelier, the Recollect Father Anastasius de Douay (*i. e.,* the town he came from, his family name is not known), and a young Parisian named Tessier."

Fort Prudhomme hardly deserves the name of "fort" and only lasted a week. It consisted, says Joutel, "suivant ce que Mr. de la salle nous dit qua un abatis de bois autour du campement que lon fit audit lieu pour atendre ledit prudhome." La Salle did not build a fort at Chicago in 1679; he did build, however, a redoubt at the mouth of the St. Joseph River in November of that year. Attention must be called to a consistent error in spelling. Throughout the book, we find *"engagées"* instead of *"engagés";* these hired workers were not women, but men.

In calling attention to these errors and in making these suggestions regarding better use of evidence, the present reviewer is acting solely on the hope that what is here suggested may be helpful to Mr. Murphy in the production of the full-length biography of Tonti which it is his intention to write.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Émigrés in the Wilderness. By T. Wood Clarke. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. xvi, 247.

This volume is appropriately named. It deals for the most part with the French émigrés who settled in New York and Pennsylvania, during the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Most of the material has been neglected by the so-called standard histories of the period. The author has made use of many secondary sources dealing with this interesting but far from well-known phase of early American history, and has employed pertinent source material. Of necessity he had to incorporate much for which he could scarcely vouch, but a definite effort is made to properly evaluate such documents. Regarding the involved case of Eleazar Williams, who claimed to be Louis XVII of France, the author brings historical criticism very definitely into use in an effort to separate that which is historically true from that which is palpably false.

More or less typical of the settlements which were made in New York and France by the émigrés forced out of France by the Revolution or by Napoleon, was the one made at Asylum, in northern Pennsylvania. In the words of the author, "Strange indeed was the procession of settlers who soon began to arrive at the promised land of Asylum. In a colony where existence itself depended upon wresting a livelihood from the soil, not a single member had ever worked on a farm or knew the first principles of agriculture. While some of the settlers intended from the first to make America their permanent home, others of this little colony of nobles, soldiers, and priests hated the country which had harbored them in their distress, despised the American settlers in the neighborhood, and looked down on them in turn, and refused to adopt their customs or learn their language. These lived by themselves in their new home on the Susquehanna and dreamed of the time when they should return to their beloved France" (p. 66).

Although this rather general attitude upon the part of the émigrés precluded any permanent settlements, various important personages did visit the French villages. In 1794, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, formerly Bishop of Autun, visited America; in 1796, the Duke of Orleans, destined to ascend the French throne in 1830, as Louis Philippe, the Citizen King, visited his compatriots in this country; in 1815, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples and Spain, reached New York, and remained in this country until 1830. Meanwhile many lesser lights arrived, and the story of the lives lived, the homes built, and the plans developed by these émigrés make a rather fantastic story, but one which the author reduces to historical accuracy and truth.

After having dealt in some detail with the royalists, and then in a later era with the Bonapartists, the author devotes the third section of the book to the old historical question as to whether the dauphin, Louis XVII, died in the Temple, in Paris, or lived later in the eastern and middle-western part of this country as Eleazar Williams. He presents the evidence which has accumulated and although he apparently favors the view that Eleazar Williams was not the younger son of Louis XVI, he makes it clear that he considers the point still historically debatable.

Although the communities established did not flourish, several of our older families trace their American origin to the settlements dealt with in this account. Many pictures of the homes built in the communities described are included. An ample bibliography and a good index increase the utility of this interesting book.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit. By Irving McKee. (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XIV, No. 1.) Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1941. Pp. 141.

Benjamin Marie Petit, native-born Frenchman from Rheims in France, accompanied Bishop Bruté of Vincennes on the latter's return to America in 1836 from a European trip. Ordained a priest the following year by Bruté, he ministered with remarkable devotion and zeal to the Potowatomi of Indiana until their expulsion from the state and forced migration to the West. He accompanied the Indians on their removal in the capacity of chaplain and reached with them their new reserve in the Upper Osage River country in what is now southeastern Kansas. Stricken there with a critical illness, he recovered sufficiently to attempt the return journey to his diocese. He died February 10, 1839, when he was only twenty-nine, at St. Louis.

Few episodes in American history are more tragic than the deportation of the Indiana Potawatomi by the state authorities in 1838, a measure which took toll of Father Petit's life and the lives of many of the Indians. The circumstances accompanying it are revealed in his letters, twenty-seven of them, all that are known to be extant, being edited in the present volume. To them are added a journal of his missionary activities in Indiana and extracts from his baptismal register. Some of the letters have already appeared in print in the French missionary journal, *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi;* others are here published for the first time from originals in the chancery office of the diocese of Indianapolis, the Indian Office, Washington, and the depositaries. The journal is a document of interest for the religious history of Indiana in the eighteen-thirties. The editing has been done with care, an amount of accurate and informing data illustrative of the text being assembled in the footnotes.

Father Petit's correspondence is a welcome addition to the historiography of the pioneer West. It brings into view for public edification a hitherto little known figure of unusual interest and charm and is one proof more that other influences besides economic ones were at work in the frontier movement.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University, Chicago

Norway Neutral and Invaded. By Haldvan Koht. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. 253.

Dr. Koht was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway from 1935 to the time in February 1941 when he received the German ultimatum just after the Nazi invasion of his country. There can be no doubt about his qualifications to present this book, even though he had used no documents other than his notes for its composition. After sojourning in many lands he became professor of history in the University of

Oslo from 1908 to 1935. During this time he was visiting professor and lecturer in universities of continental Europe and America. His many books in Norwegian and English reveal him as a capable writer and are warrants for the academic honors bestowed on him: President of the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters and President of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

This volume, all too brief, will be considered as one of the documents of the present war, since it recounts the actions of a scholar and statesman high in the esteem of the people and government of Norway. From the viewpoint of the diplomat in charge of the foreign policy of his country he explains first why Norway was neutral at the outbreak of hostilities—and her inability to be otherwise. She, like other nations, still believed that international law existed. A graphic description of the phases of the Nazi invasion follows. He attributes the success to various and now obvious factors, lack of adequate defensive and offensive weapons, surprise, and foul play without and within the nation. Then follow sketches of his escape, the oppression in Norway, the flight of the king, the war of liberation being led by the exiled Norwegian government, and the programme of the Nazis under the arch-traitor Quisling.

The book might conceivably have received wide reading here had not the events of Pearl Harbor taken place a week after its publication.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

The Jesuits in History. The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries. By Martin P. Harney, S. J., M. A. The America Press, New York, 1941. Pp. xvi, 513.

This volume is required reading, as much for students of Jesuit history as for students of world history. Father Harney shows through his wide and oftentimes profound scholarship how the concept of a company of Christ's soldiers slowly evolved in the heart, brain, and soul of the founder, the Basque nobleman, Iñigo, of the house of Loyola. The founder's great wisdom, his insistence upon building solidly and painstakingly, are reasons given why the Company or Society of Jesus, later grew to be "one of the most numerous of the religious orders of the Catholic Church," and why members of the order planted the cross in foreign mission fields, became explorers, linguists, and ethnologists, and why also from its ranks have come "saints and martyrs, scholars and scientists, writers and orators" (p. ix). St. Ignatius was the fount, he conceived the idea of the order, he provided it with a system of asceticism (the *Spiritual Exercises*), he composed the *Constitution* for the company, and he laid the basis for the Jesuit system of education (the *Ratio Studiorum,* finally approved in 1599, after fifteen years of theoretical study and practical application).

Though the importance of the founder's work is forcibly presented, the author with equal force indicates how beautifully timed in an historical sense was the establishment of the Society of Jesus. The Protestant Revolution demanded a militant Catholic response. The Jesuits helped to provide this, both as ardent educational and religious missionaries working in Protestant and doubtful areas, and as valuable assistants to the progressive Catholic leaders who were accomplishing the internal reform of the Church.

The historical opportunities of the Jesuits were by no means confined to the conditions of the Protestant Revolution, however. There were new worlds to conquer. The missionary bent of the company is apparent from the first in Loyola's desire to convert the Turks to Christianity. Circumstances turned the missionary efforts of the Jesuits to other fields, the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and the Middle and Far East.

Two excellent chapters, "Gathering Storms," and "Cross Currents," describe the struggles of the Society against enemies who at length brought about its suppression by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. (Chapter XIII. Catastrophe.) In analyzing the difficult question, what was the reason for the suppression, Father Harney remarks that "The real cause of the warfare against the Jesuit order is to be found in the hatred of the Papacy and in the hatred of the Catholic Church itself" (p. 297). That is, hatred as expressed by Jansenists, Gallicans, and "certain regalistic and absolutistic Catholic politicians, whose persistent encroachments in the Church's domain had been fought by the Society. . . ." (p. 297). Added to these foes of the Jesuits was the school of French infidel philosophy.

Though suppressed, the life and organization of the Society was preserved without interruption in Russia, because no promulgation of the Brief of Suppression was ever allowed. Universal restoration of the Society was accomplished in 1814 by the Brief of Pope Pius VII.

Since the restoration, the Society has grown in strength until, in point of numbers (25,954 members in 1939), it is today more powerful than at any previous time in its history. Father Harney concludes his actual historical narrative in the period of the early 'thirties.

The volume is equipped with eleven pages of appendices containing documentary and statistical information pertaining to the history of the Society, a well organized bibliography, which seems quite complete despite the rather curious omission of Streit's important *Bibliotheca missionum,* and a very usable index. One could wish that this excellent work were equipped with maps, showing perhaps the areal distribution of the Society's membership in critical and peak periods of its history.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

San Francisco State College

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 3 JULY 1942

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

NÓBREGA OF BRAZIL . . . . *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 151

LUIZ DA GRA, MISSION BUILDER AND EDUCATOR OF BRAZIL . . . . *J. Manuel Espinosa* 188

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN: IN MEMORIAM 217

NOTES AND COMMENT 219

BOOK REVIEWS 220

CRAVEN, *The Coming of the Civil War;* WERTENBAKER, *The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization;* HACKETT, *Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III;* JOHNSON, *Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest, 1805-1879;* ESPINOSA, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico.*

MANAGING EDITOR
JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF
GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 3

Nóbrega of Brazil

In the January number of this quarterly there appeared two articles on the Portuguese colonization of Brazil during the sixteenth century. These studies were intended to give a broad view of the manner in which the Society of Jesus was organized first in Portugal and then in Brazil. Few details were given about the men who came to Brazil to work in harmony toward building a strong colony. These representatives of the Church and state had to meet new, very vital problems; they had to form workable policies and practices based on great religious, humanitarian, and administrative principles. They built well in this raw land. Yet there is in English no worthy biography of any one of such outstanding governors as Thomé de Sousa, Duarte da Costa, and Mem de Sá, or of any one of the religious cooperators. We begin to carry out the promise to supply the need with a sketch of Nóbrega, who, as director of the foundations of the religious and social organization of the colony, worked with each of the three early governors.

I. NOBREGA IN PORTUGAL

Mystery shrouds the place of birth in Portugal of Manuel da Nóbrega. He was born most probably on October 17, 1517.[1] Thus far no one has been able to trace his family lineage, though some very good historians have searched long hours in many places for scraps of accurate evidence.[2] His father has been identified as Baltasar da Nóbrega, who had been a chief magistrate but was deceased before 1541.[3] There is authority for saying that his maternal uncle was a lord chancellor. Nothing is known about his mother, his home, or his early life. There has come to light no official record of his existence before 1538 when his name got into the registrar's books at the University of Coimbra. Prior to this he had been favored by King John III with a subsidy to carry on his studies, an honor he may have received either through the prestige of his family, or because his father and uncle were esteemed officials, or because of the patronage of some noble.[4]

---

[1] Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, II, 461, 468.

[2] There are various one-page summaries of the life of Nóbrega. A longer, edifying sketch was printed by Father Antonio Franco at Lisbon in 1719; this, in the rare book class, is reprinted in *Cartas Jesuiticas,* I, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 21-69. Leite's *História* assuredly covers all of the activities of Nóbrega, though not in convenient biography form. Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil,* Lisbon, 1865, is useful as an outline but confusing in details. Perhaps the best full-length study in Portuguese is the recent work of José Mariz de Moraes, *Nóbrega: O primeiro Jesuita do Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1940, reprint from *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.*

Manuel studied Latin in Coimbra and then went to Spain's renowned University of Salamanca for three years of law. He returned to the University of Coimbra for a final year before receiving his bachelor's degree on June 14, 1541. The event gives an opportunity to glimpse Nóbrega in his twenty-third year.

His professor in law was the noted Dr. Martim de Azpilcueta Navarro, a most human figure for all his learning.[5] The professor was of that rare type of student directors who become identified in the minds of their disciples with a university. He was an educator who formed characters, allowed for individual differences, and followed his students through life with a paternal and keen interest. Some of "his boys" later wrote letters to him from far colonial outposts. This master, whose decisions in canon law were respected all over Europe, termed Nóbrega a most scholarly student, one of his best, "illustrious for his knowledge, virtue, and lineage."[6] His genius for counteracting the spirit of diffidence in his students was illustrated in Nóbrega's case at the time of examinations. The young man, preparing to give in com-

---

Source materials—letters, reports, *cartas annuas*—have been published variously. A number of these written from Brazil were gathered by Afrânio Peixoto and were finally published as *Cartas Jesuíticas* I, II, III, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933; these will be cited hereafter as CJ. To these another volume of documents has been added: Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* São Paulo, 1940; this will be cited as NCJ. (It is Vol. 194, Serie 5, of Brasiliana of the Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira.)

[3] CJ I, 21, Franco, *Vida;* Leite, *História,* II, 460, text and notes.

[4] CJ I, 22, Franco, *Vida;* Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* I, 6-7.

[5] Dr. Navarro (1492-1586), a Navarrese, was born near Pamplona, Spain, and was a second cousin of the mother of St. Francis Xavier. He taught fourteen years at Salamanca, and, sent by express order of Charles V to lecture at Coimbra, he did so for sixteen years in the University. His nephew, João de Azpilcueta Navarro, comes into our later pages as a very notable Jesuit linguist, missionary, and companion of Nóbrega; Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal,* Pôrto, 1931-1938, Tomo I, Vol. 1, 266, and Tomo I, Vol. 2, 616.

[6] *Ibid.,* I, 2, 616; Leite, *História,* II, 462.

petition a sample lecture before faculty and student body, wanted to drop out and forego the bachelor's degree because he stammered. Dr. Navarro forced him to take the platform, and rejoiced when the judges awarded his protégé first place. The rector, however, stuck to certain legalities. Due to stammering, he argued, the contestant had not filled out the hour with words. A second timing had to be made to assure the rector about the verbal gaps, after which all but the rector again awarded the premium to the lecturer.[7]

Thus inspired, Manuel continued with studies in theology and became a priest at Coimbra. There seem to have been limits put to his ministerial work, since Father Nóbrega was a "Mass priest." Evidently, he intended to become a professor of canon law, rather than a pastor in some parish. A professorship was open at the monastery of Santa Cruz, for which he and another applicant lectured and debated before judges of the monastery. The vote was against him, or rather against his stammering. Thereupon, discouraged over his defect, he determined to have done forever with seeking honors in university halls. The precise dates of these happenings are not known, but on November 21, 1544, he entered the Society of Jesus.

He took up his abode as a novice of the Society in the Jesuit college near the University of Coimbra, having for companions seventy young and very zealous religious students. Coimbra was a school for apostolic men, a means chosen by John III to restore spiritual values in Portugal and a place to train missionaries for work in the colonies. Here Father Nóbrega in the very early years of the missionary life of the Society of Jesus began to grow and expand with the organization. He undertook menial work to discipline his soul in humility and obedience. By retreats, prayers, and spiritual exercises he trained himself in virtues which he would soon preach to others.[8]

Once finished with his novitiate, he pronounced his vows of religion, poverty, chastity, and obedience. His father superior assigned duties to him—preaching, hearing confessions, visiting prisoners in jails, and consoling the sick in hospitals. In administering to persons of all classes of the city in their spiritual and corporal needs he manifested a great kindliness which drew sinners, criminals, and lax clergymen to paths of righteousness.[9] And from descriptions, Portugal was in need of revivalists of his type. Dramatic moments came into his daily life, as when he attended a notorious highwayman to the gallows and got the hardened man to confess to God and reconcile himself to justice a moment before the execution. Most fearful were certain cases of people possessed by evil spirits, and most difficult to reclaim were fallen women.

---

[7] CJ I, 22-23, Franco, *Vida*.

[8] Cf. Rodrigues, I, 1, 476 ff., and 507 ff. for the daily order and scheme of training novices; cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 16-18, for a summary description of the import of Coimbra.

The young Jesuits began to make themselves omnipresent in the pulpits, plazas, and streets where they catechized the youth and instructed the working classes; but while each of the others was known only as "one of the Company," Father Nóbrega was called "The Stammerer." Their work did not always stop at nightfall. Once he and a companion were ordered out after midnight. They went along the unlighted streets at two o'clock in the morning, violently ringing a bell and arousing the townspeople with the cry: "Hell awaits those in mortal sin!"[10] They were accepted as apostles; such drastic measures were expected of them, since the wayward could not be led by the more gentle sermons on the love of God. The total effect of the numerous preachings on Coimbra was a moral regeneration.

After carrying on their religious revival in Coimbra the Jesuits extended their field in 1546 to outlying towns and provinces. They passed along the highways, to the people as specially prepared men of science, learning, asceticism, and zeal. Itineraries were planned by the superior. Nóbrega and the others went two by two, supporting themselves on food begged from door to door, lodging at night generally in some hospital. The poor, the aged, the infirm, the outcasts of society, the public sinners of each place received visits from them. Within a few years scarcely a village in Portugal had not heard the voices of the black-robed fathers. As an excursionist of this type Nóbrega's sincere, though at times exaggerated zealousness, wrought numerous conversions among clergy and laity.[11]

One of his missions is told in some detail.[12] Following his superior's directions he made a circuit of towns, moving eastward from Coimbra toward the Spanish border, then west and north to the coast, and finally down the coast south through

---

[9] Rodrigues, I, 1, 655. Edifying incidents of zeal appear in CJ I, 23-30, Franco, *Vida*.

[10] Rodrigues, I, 1, 367.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 1, 639.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 1, 655-656; CJ I, 26-27, Franco, *Vida*.

Pôrto to his residence, a tour of about three hundred miles. By the time he had reached Sabugal, the easternmost city, he was barefoot, for his shoes had worn out. Yet in spite of his bedraggled condition he proceeded directly into a pulpit to deliver a sermon against injustice and public sins. The effect was highly salutary. Many hearers, chastened in spirit, foreswore their evil ways. But when the tired preacher began to beg food and shelter, the noble Dom Duarte de Castelo Branco thought this altogether too much. He offered the missionary hospitality. Nóbrega was grateful, still firm in his refusal of such honor and luxury. The grandee could be equally stubborn. The padre somehow made an escape to the hospice, safe, he thought, from the temptation to comfort. There Dom Duarte's servants trailed him, and there they were when dinnertime came, serving him food on their master's silver service. But Nóbrega successfully resisted many other kind invitations to stay long in that city.

Another characteristic adventure happened at Covilhão on the road back. He arrived bareheaded, since he had lost or someone had stolen his hat, and ill because he had just completed eight miles afoot in a hot, June sun. Gaunt from fast and fatigue, he nevertheless mounted the pulpit immediately. The sermon was what might have been expected under such circumstances. It was not what his new audience expected. His stammering, aggravated by illness, brought murmurs of disapproval. In fact the congregation withdrew. Undiscouraged, Nóbrega asked the pastor to announce a sermon for the following day. The pastor did so, adding that the stammering priest would preach it. Even with this adverse publicity for one reason or another a crowd gathered. This time it remained to be greatly pleased. Won by his eloquence and graciousness the people begged him to remain, and not succeeding they had a citizen's committee write a petition to John III to issue an order constraining Nóbrega to Covilhão for six months' work. The Jesuit, however, moved on to complete his circuit. When he left Opôrto on the last stage of his journey he was on horseback, at least for awhile. About thirty miles from Coimbra his cavalcade came upon a Negress, very sick, who was trying to get to that city. Nóbrega gave her his mount, and, ill as he was, completed the miles on foot.

One pilgrimage made by Nóbrega brought him across the northern boundary of Portugal to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, about two hundred miles due north of Coimbra along the coast road. In this ancient city of Galicia he preached much, braving humiliations arising from his poor clothes and foreign diction. For instance, a bevy of light-hearted Galician girls after one sermon were gathered in the street around one of the group who was mimicking the talk with all gestures and falterings. Again, one night he was forced to put up with a crowd of professional beggars. He had to listen to a contest between them to settle a wager over whose methods were best suited to bring generous alms. Each presented his plea, until one member of the confraternity, concluding his rather blasphemous whine, turned to Nóbrega for his verdict. The father gave him not only his own judgment but that of heaven and hell, fearlessly branding the roustabouts individually and collectively as thieves and cheats. Thereafter, beggars took another direction when they spied him coming.

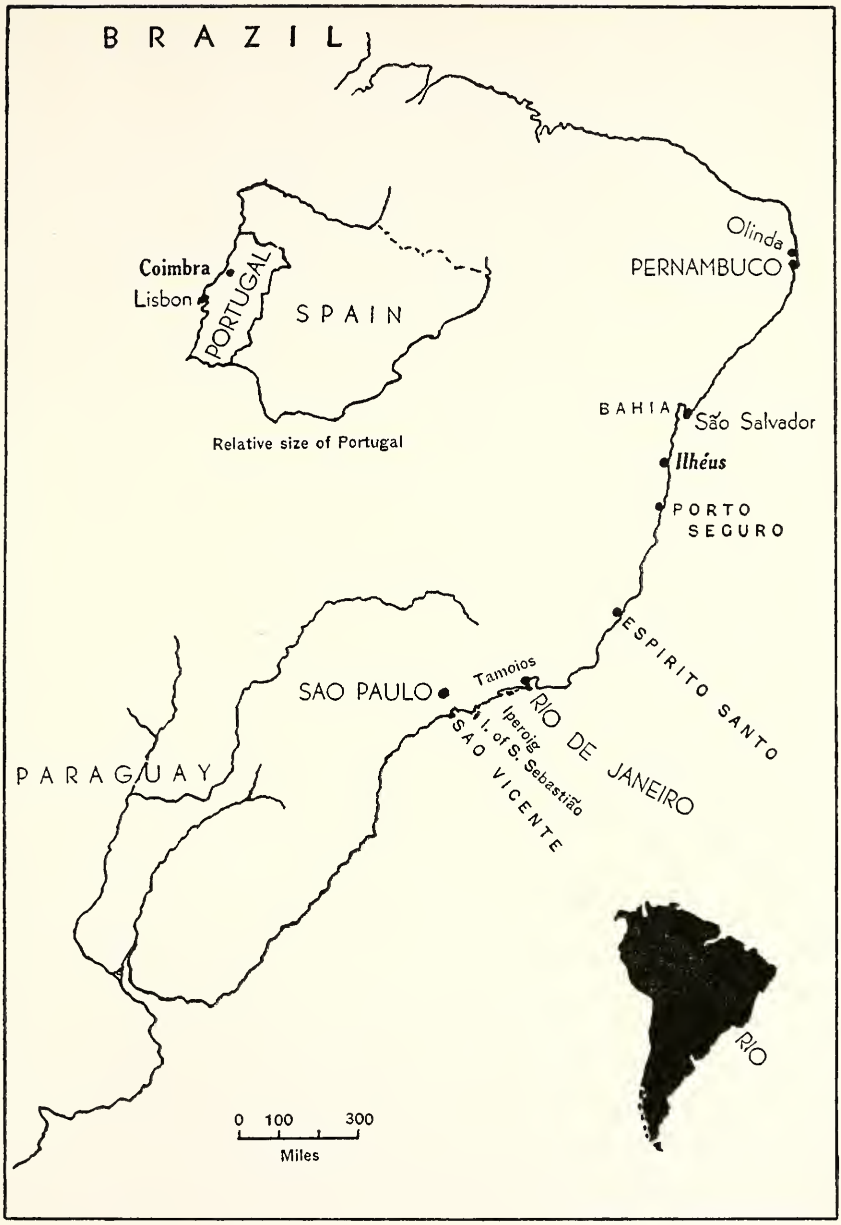
In this manner Father Nóbrega for four years tramped the streets and highways of Portugal, using an enormous amount of physical energy, rejoicing in any favor gained for souls through his instrumentality, sorrowing and blaming his own unworthiness for failure to convert the obstinate. The wear and tear on his health was great while he was braving the elements and suffering the inconveniences of hunger, thirst, lodging, and ridicule. All difficulties and hardships suffered by his body only served to strengthen his soul. His soul grew great in its desire to benefit his fellow men. He had become full of the driving force of the young Society of Jesus, to do all things for the greater honor and glory of God. Salvation to him was forgetting himself and remembering only God and his neighbor. He was thus well prepared for a far more arduous task.

II. The Organization of North Brazil

Toward the end of 1548 while Nóbrega was on one of his tours the king completed arrangements for making something out of the scattered, badly managed settlements, or captaincies, of Brazil. He appointed Thomé de Sousa governor general in full charge of building a capital and bringing the individual colonies under one central headship. The Jesuits were asked to carry out the religious and cultural phase of the unification. Simon Rodrigues, superior of all the Jesuits in Portugal, to the satisfaction of John III and Thomé de Sousa, named Nóbrega superior of a chosen band of six.[13] He then sent word to the itinerant "stam-

---

[13] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* I, 18, says that the fame of his great spirit was the reason why he was asked for by His Highness, John III, and the governor.


BRAZIL
Coimbra
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Relative size of Portugal
Olinda
PERNAMBUCO
BAHIA
São Salvador
Ilhéus
PORTO SEGURO
ESPIRITO SANTO
Tamoios
SAO PAULO
RIO DE JANEIRO
Iperoig
I. of S. Sebastião
SAO VICENTE
PARAGUAY
0 100 300
Miles
RIO

merer" out in the middle of Portugal to get to Lisbon for the embarcation of the fleet.

Whether he was too ill to make haste or too busy with final arrangements, the superior missed the sailing. His men, Fathers Leonardo Nunes, António Pires, and João de Azpilcueta Navarro, and the as yet unordained brothers Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome were aboard when anchors were weighed. The last hope as the billowing sails moved out the *Ria* toward the sea was the skiff of the port superintendent. In this Nóbrega overtook the *Conçeicão,* flagship of the fleet, and was welcomed, as he came over the railing, by the governor general. The day was February 1, 1549. Manuel never again saw Portugal.

The fleet was the largest ever to go to Brazil to that time—three ships, two caravels, a brigatine, and two other boats. All told there were over a thousand men, including functionaries, soldiers, colonists, and four hundred *degredados;* the latter, a group of exiles made up of various human derelicts and offenders not wanted in Portugal, who might, it was thought, make a new start in America. The voyage was completed without incident, no storms, no seasickness; in fact, the Jesuits were in better health after their trip.[14] They followed a strict religious order each day, and by sermons and talks ultimately got everyone to go to confession. In exactly eight weeks, on March 29, they reached the Bay of All Saints.[15]

The disembarcation from the armada was made with both display and caution. The soldiers landed in battle array fully prepared to meet any resistance. The fathers followed chanting a hymn, one (Nóbrega?) holding aloft a crucifix. "But," said Nóbrega, "we found the land at peace and forty or fifty dwellers in the settlement already there. They received us with joy. We found a sort of church, close to which we soon lodged the fathers and brothers in some houses [made] like it."[16] These were thatched mud huts made by the fathers. Nóbrega said the first Mass on the following Sunday, March 31, and preached where the new city of Salvador was to rise, while Father Navarro preached half a league away to the people of the old city settled by Francisco Pereira Coutinho.

Before the novelty of being in the New World was fully realized a healthy building program was in progress. The problems of water supply, sanitation, defense, and materials cropped up. The site for the new city, called Salvador, Thomé's colonial capital, was chosen and marked off during the first month. When the leaders, including the padre, were agreed on the sites for particular walls and buildings they set men to work laying foundations according to drafted plans. The diggers, lumbermen, carpenters, masons erected structures and fortifications capable of withstanding raids from the backwoods and from the sea. The Jesuit superior had his trouble building the first church and planning a college in which the religious and two hundred students might be housed. Workmen were expensive; so was material and labor. The king's subsidy amounting to thirteen cents a day for each Jesuit would build no buildings.[17] Father Pires, an expert carpenter, after some months got tools from Portugal for work on the Jesuit residence. By August 10 the new city had one hundred houses, and fields were sown.[18]

---

[14] Leite, *História,* I, 19.

[15] CJ I, 71, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, from Bahia, 1549.

[16] *Ibid.*

The difficulties of constructing the city were minor compared to those encountered in constructing a new social, moral, and intellectual order. Nóbrega was a realist. He soon saw what confronted him in the way of a spiritual task. Rather than being discouraged after one horrified look at the prospect, he took the moral measure of all of the people and then launched a two-fisted, twenty-year campaign against the evils of the land.

The Indians were in general one rung above the brute stage on the ladder of civilization.[19] First of all they had the bad habit of eating one another. Living in groups in the jungle or along rivers they preyed upon their neighbors like animals, carrying off males and females to be bartered into slavery or fattened for a feast. The constant tribal warfare was motivated by hate and vengeance rather than by desire for power; the satisfaction of these passions was complete at one of the cannibalistic orgies only when all were glutted and intoxicated. They remained in one place for a short period, moving elsewhere when their mud hovels fell apart or became too filled with filth for free movement. They frequently killed children to get them out of the way. They knew nothing of God, of moral laws, of monogamy; led by medicine men they feared the devil and worshiped various idols; they grubbed, hunted, fished, and warred for food; they did nothing about clothing. Were it not for the few more civilized natives around Bahia, Nóbrega might well have despaired of elevating the Indians of Brazil.

---

[17] On this subsidy cf. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders," *loc. cit.*, 23.

[18] CJ I, 89, Nóbrega to Dr. Navarro, August 10, 1549.

[19] Almost every letter of the Jesuits could be cited in proof of this and the following statements; examples may be found especially in CJ I, 72, 75, 79, 90, 100, 116; CJ II, 50, 70, 98, 99, etc.

Equally bad were the conditions among the whites and half-breeds. "The people of the land live in mortal sin," Nóbrega wrote.[20] This was a blanket charge covering all classes who knew right from wrong. The *donatarios,* the planters, poor whites, and riff-raff were all living with many wives, "Negresses" as the native slave women were termed. They had children by them and by the free women. None went to confession. The half-breed children, *mamelucos,* were neither known nor a responsibility to parents as they grew up. Many went into the *sertão* living naked and as promiscuously as the Indians. Since the procedure had been going on nearly twenty years, nobody could tell whether brothers were cohabiting with sisters, fathers with daughters, mothers with sons.

Most of the clergymen were as evil as anybody else. There were several unnamed priests at Bahia, several at Pernambuco, and a handful down south at São Vicente. How and why they got to Brazil cannot be stated. They had become victims of their surroundings, attached to an estate and dependent upon the owner for support. They could do nothing but condone slavery and concubinage, or even apostatize, as at Pernambuco.[21] They had neither bishop nor vicar to check their idleness and waywardness. The remedy for this was promptly suggested by Nóbrega. In letters to the king he begged that a bishop be sent.[22]

Definitely, the ax had to be laid to the roots of paganism. To correct the widespread social evils Nóbrega planned an aggressive, detailed campaign, consulting frequently with the governor and officials regarding procedures. Father Leonardo Nunes and Brother Jácome were sent south to Ilhéus to care for the people there. He and the others set themselves to learning the native tongue. With customary enthusiasm he worked on a translation of prayers and sermons into the native language but apparently ran into insurmountable obstacles. The natives not only could not read but they were "so brutish that they have no vocables" to express ideas. The Jesuit leader determined to have the fathers live in the villages, there to acquaint themselves with native habits and means of communicating ideas. The chieftains of two main villages, falling in line with the plan of Christianization, made houses for Navarro, who lived alternately in each and visited other places near Bahia.[23]

---

[20] CJ I, 72, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues.

[21] CJ I, 116, 119, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, August 11, 1551.

[22] CJ I, 83, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, August 9, 1551; CJ I, 127, Nóbrega to John III, September 14, 1551.

Attention was centered upon small boys and girls with happy results. Brother Rodrigues caught their fancy and soon had a small school of reading and writing. One of the chieftains accepting the challenge to learning mastered the A B C's in two days. Another, already baptized, made up for his lack of such promising scholarship by his truly Christian fervor and friendship; he paternally cuffed his village into order. The children went with Nóbrega through the streets in solemn processions, drawing the people by their chants. The Indians assembled to hear the father inveigh against war, homicide, polygamy, idolatry, and the crime of "eating one another." In time, one after another of the "thou shalt nots" came to be known and respected in the old and new city of Bahia. Within five months about one hundred had been baptized, and "600 or 700 were catechumens," according to Nóbrega (who had the peculiar habit exhibited here of speaking in round terms such as "ten or twelve," "forty or fifty").[24] Still, instructing the children brought up the further problem of keeping them secure in the faith amid adverse conditions, for any convert was in constant danger of death.[25]

Efforts to organize the adults into respectable communities called for the greatest amount of patience. Coaxing them to build homes and villages more permanently, leading them to clear and till a specific area, to make a home for one man, one wife and family, instructing them to be responsible for infants and children, became the slow, painstaking task of Nóbrega and his men. They taught the peoples of the poverty-stricken land what to eat and how to grow food. Nóbrega soon asked for clothing for the women to wear, at least when they came to church. Caring for the sick, baptizing dying infants, visiting the slaves on the estates were in the day's work.

Part of the daily toil consisted of steps taken to discredit the superstitions of the medicine men, the *feiticeiros*,[26] who were the backbone of the opposition to Christianity. These went about bestirring all with the doctrine of hatred of fellow men, calling Indians to their ancient idolatry, devil worship, wars, and pagan rituals. Through such firebrands the backwoods tribes were aroused to fury against the padres' condemnations of the vice of cannibalism. When they led raids on the new settlement the strong military arm of the governor was bared. Laws were promulgated. By legislation, punitive campaigns, and paternal instruction the idea of justice was brought home to the people. Abused Indians found a court of appeal, bad Indians felt the force of the law, that is, if they did not scamper into the jungles.

---

[23] CJ I, 93, Nóbrega to Dr. Navarro, August 10, 1549.

[24] *Ibid.*, 92.

[25] CJ II, 49, João Navarro to Fathers and Brothers, March 28, 1550.

[26] On these cf. Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Introduction, cci, and CJ I, 99, Informação das Terras do Brasil.

The *feiticeiros* were accustomed to come as angels of light to the villages, where they were welcomed with a great fanfare of songs and dancing. They promised to heal any sickness, especially that contracted from the "poisoned water" poured during the Christian baptisms. Nóbrega, who considered them the devil's emissaries, sought ever to counteract their work. On one occasion he came upon one in the market place haranging a throng.[27] Nóbrega strode through the Indians and asked him if he received his power to heal from God in heaven, or on earth, or from the devil in hell. The conjurer's astounding reply was that he had this power himself since he was the son of God, and the others mentioned his relatives; he was even in communication with dieties that Nóbrega had never heard of, in the clouds and storms. The padre immediately emitted a wild cry against the blasphemy; he summoned the whole village to the scene; he called upon the people to witness his denunciation. Without any arguments he literally shouted and gesticulated the fellow into confusion. As a result, the *feiticeiro* admitted his falsehoods, begged God's pardon, and asked to become a Christian with some of his followers. Once such religious leaders were discredited or were brought into the fold the fathers became in the eyes of the indigines the great religious guides. Instances of this type later were multiplied all over Brazil.

The recently arrived whites were controlled fairly well by the officials, though the problem of wives for them soon arose. These men together with the earlier settlers received personal exhortations and counsel from the fathers, who attempted to make all conscious of the degrading effects of their wrongdoings, stressing the injustice of enslaving natives and the duty of caring for the Negro slaves. Nóbrega talked to the Negroes, some of whom received instructions and became Christians. The obdurate planters, however, argued that they could not maintain their plantations without native slaves. Prominent among the methods of converting the obdurate was the one of awakening the village at midnight with bell ringing and the chanting of hymns.

---

[27] CJ I, 35, Franco, *Vida,* or, in Nóbrega's words, CJ I, 95.

From March to November 1549 definite progress had been made in the new city of Salvador. On November 1, Father Nóbrega set out by boat for Ilhéus, the central village of the captaincy of the same name, situated some one hundred forty miles south. Father Leonardo Nunes had returned from there with the report of good possibilities for the Jesuits. Nóbrega went to consider the prospects. The two sailed out with "ten or twelve" small boys. These Nóbrega had found in bondage at Bahia. He was amazed when they claimed to be Christians. They or their parents had been brought from the distant south after being captured by slave raiders. The father took their case to Thomé de Sousa, who found their cause just. He ordered them to be returned to their land, where, they said, the fathers would be welcomed. They were the amiable and tractable Carijós Indians who lured the Jesuits to a promising field.

The padres stayed in Ilhéus long enough to survey affairs and to care for Brother Jácome who was very ill with fever. Then they sailed another one hundred ten miles to Porto Seguro, where they arrived on Christmas Day.[28] Father Nunes was sent south with the boys. The superior went directly from the boat to preaching and the confessional. In each of the towns he found the natives tamer and friendlier than those around Bahia. "About twenty or thirty" had been baptized earlier by two priests, who met death at the hands of tribesmen in the vicinity. The lives of some of the sugar planters, the *fazendeiros,* were as scandalous as those in the north. The appalling ignorance, poverty, and lack of religion witnessed on his trips to the villages made Nóbrega's heart yearn for more workers to plant the good seed. He could not absolve men already married in Portugal, mostly poor whites, because they had taken Indian wives. Not knowing of pollen and sinusitis, he blamed the humidity for aggravating his catarrh. Other items of note were reports of gold and precious stones as yet undiscovered, and a herb for smoking, called the "Holy Herb," which aided digestion, but which the fathers did not use.

Throughout the year 1550 Nóbrega exercised his zeal in Porto Seguro before returning to Salvador in 1551.[29] During his absence from the capital a new armada, which left Lisbon January 7, 1550, had arrived presumably in March bringing four more fathers and word from Ignatius Loyola that Nóbrega was to act as vice-provincial.[30] These the superior distributed in Bahia, Ilhéus, and Porto Seguro. Father Navarro, a master of the native language, had completed his translation of a prayerbook and catechism, and, on the return of Nóbrega, was sent to do a similar work for the Indians in Porto Seguro, a task needing several months. This great missionary was assigned solely to work among the natives. Quite as a welcome surprise there came on this fleet with the fathers seven orphan boys, reformed "rascals" from Lisbon, who were to aid as catechists.

---

[28] CJ I, 107, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, January 6, 1550; Leite, *História,* I, 197. The letter of Nóbrega, running ten printed pages, covers the stop at Ilhéus, and first days at Porto Seguro.

[29] *Ibid.*

The dire economic needs were a constant problem to the Jesuit leader. Simply stated these consisted of supporting ten Jesuits, the seven orphans, two Indian seminaries, and constructing houses, a church, and a college on the total sum of one dollar and thirty cents a day. Legalities and religious regulations complicated the situation.[31]

From Porto Seguro Nóbrega had written to his Portuguese provincial for a clarification of his authority. What permission had he to build, to accept funds, to acquire lands and properties including slaves, to establish a college? Since these orphans were sent he assumed that he had somehow to provide them with shelter, food, clothes, and education. But his religious vows and the Jesuit regulations against individual or corporate ownership were in conflict with practical needs. He presented his reasoning as follows: living quarters were necessary, and therefore must be obtained; food could not be begged from people so poor as those in the colony, therefore a farm and herd of cattle were essential; but the farm could not be worked by fathers already building houses and doing missionary work, and hence labor had to be obtained; the hire of native or white labor for farming and herd-tending was expensive, and there was no money at hand; slaves, the alternative, were also expensive.

Thomé de Sousa was approached with a statement of the facts.[32] During the year and a half that had elapsed since their arrival, the missionaries had received, besides the plot of ground in the city and the king's subsidy, twelve cubits of dark cloth, twelve pairs of shoes, two sombreros, and fourteen yards of cloth for shirts, the whole valued at 7,080 réis, or $54. The other needs were mentioned, the most urgent of which pertained to Nóbrega's adopted poor boys. Thomé cooperated with alacrity. The two leaders formed the Colégio dos Meninos de Jesus, that is, "incorporated" the boys as a unit, housed them in a hall, and formulated regulations for the "college." A farm site was allotted for its support. Nóbrega acquired three slaves from among those sent by the crown from Guinea, promising payment to the crown in two years. Some cows were purchased on similar terms. Within a year the cotton fields, gardens, and farm were in operation, though one of their slaves died of fever. These acquisitions later gave rise to religious scruples on the part of some of the fathers and brought about a stout defense from Nóbrega.[33]

---

[30] CJ I, 36, Franco, *Vida*.

[31] CJ I, 128-130, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, August (?), 1552; this letter should be compared to one written by Nóbrega to Rodrigues, July 10, 1552, published in NCJ, 23-27.

[32] CJ I, 129, Nóbrega to the Portuguese Provincial, 1552.

This college of orphans began to flourish. The boys were very useful for instructing natives. They received education, starting Latin in 1553, and the brighter ones were sent back to Portugal for higher studies. The king granted 5,600 réis a year for clothing. As a youth movement this Bahia foundation was important. When these and others of the type later sent grew up we find Nóbrega still watching over their welfare, even to the extent of asking that orphan girls be sent who might become wives for those who did not have a religious vocation, and with the boys build new homes in the colony.

Meantime, the children of the land were not neglected. In the two nearby villages, Navarro had organized the Indian and mestizo lads into two seminaries, housing the groups in adobe huts built by the fathers. These were taught reading, writing, grammar, composition, and singing. Navarro could easily have two hundred in each place if they could be fed and lodged. Children's processions became common sights in places only shortly removed from barbarism. Many boys came to the door in tears begging admission to the select groups.[34]

Providing for the little ones in these several groups did not cause Nóbrega to neglect his work of establishing a center for the Jesuits. Quarters in the old city served while the foundations for the main Jesuit building were laid in the new. By the middle of 1551 a quadrangle of houses was laid out for the college, whose rector was head carpenter. The residences, prototypes of many others since constructed by the Jesuits, were in constant need of repair until 1557 when it was decided to make them of stone. The king contributed 17,000 réis, about $112, for labor, and moreover assigned a stonecutter to the task, who performed it as part of a prison sentence received for murder.[35]

---

[33] NCJ, 102-112, Nóbrega to Laínez, June 12, 1561.

[34] CJ I, 115, Nóbrega to Fathers and Brothers; also, *ibid.*, 129; Vasconcellos, I, 55-56.

Bent upon "taking the pulse" of Brazil, amounting to "two-thirds of the world," he said, the Black Robe with Father António Pires boarded a boat in early July 1551, bound for Pernambuco or Recife, five hundred miles north by sea.[36] The governor had been asked by the king if the Jesuits were in all places as yet, and Nóbrega was desirous of getting his men established. Although Nóbrega mentions nothing about the journey, Pires says they almost lost their lives during storms lasting six days of the "15 or 20 days" trip.[37] They brought with them some Christian boys, who soon were a source of edification to all as they went through the streets chanting.

The state of moral laxity in this settlement of Dom João Coelho called for much labor on the part of the priests. They were received well, especially by the virtuous, aged Coelho, who gave them a home built previously for Augustinian fathers who did not arrive. Nóbrega followed his customary preaching and penances, constantly uring men to their duties. Some of the whites had not been near the sacraments for twenty years, and one of the fallen priests was restored to grace by the fervent words of Nóbrega. There was so much to be done, however, to correct the widespread enslavement of natives and injustices to Negroes that the vice-provincial did not leave for Bahia until January of 1552. Pires remained in Pernambuco. Nóbrega said that Divine Justice surely would have destroyed the evil place were it not for the goodness of Coelho and his wife.[38]

---

[35] Leite, *História,* I, 48-49; facsimile of the ground plan faces page 32. In 1557 the main building was a 57 by 25 foot "hall" which was divided into a study, a dormitory for the Jesuits, and a sacristy. Next to this were houses, one serving as a church, one for a kitchen, common refectory, and dispensary, and another for the boys' quarters and classrooms. These structures were put in rectangular form, practically on the sea; around the Jesuit square grew the city of Salvador. When these mud, or adobe, houses decayed sometime in the sixties the new and beautiful stone building and adjacent church were erected. Nóbrega did not survive to see the full flowering and the fruits of this famous educational and missionary center, which with so much toil he and his pioneers had founded.

[36] CJ I, 114-117, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, from Pernambuco, 1551; *ibid.,* 118-122; *id.* to *id.; ibid.,* 123-127, Nóbrega to John III, September 14, 1551.

[37] CJ II, 82, António Pires to the Brothers of the Company, August 2, 1551. The letter runs nine printed pages, 75-84.

[38] CJ I, 124, Nóbrega to John III.

The first bishop of Brazil, Dom Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived in Bahia on June 22, 1552.[39] With him came some priests, canons, and dignitaries. The spiritual outlook was much brighter as the prelate undertook reforms. Still, one of the first uses to which he put the Jesuits was not precisely to Nóbrega's liking, though prompted by episcopal zeal. They were appointed apostolic visitors in the captaincies, bound to "inquire into but not to judge" the conduct of the secular priests.[40] Nóbrega had no taste for anything savoring of espionage. Otherwise, the incoming clergymen were able to care for the whites around Bahia, thus freeing Jesuits for more work among the Indians, and the presence of a bishop lent an air of authority and majesty to the colony. For this the father was grateful. Nóbrega argued with the prelate when he forbade the Jesuits to hear confessions through interpreters, to send boys' processions through villages, and to have Mass for slaves. In a month the resultant confusion was straightened out, principally by the authority of Dr. Navarro to whom Nóbrega had appealed for decision.[41]

In these letters of 1552 the vice-provincial wrote reports to Simon Rodrigues and to the king.[42] He promised to send two boys, "the first born of the land," to Portugal for their higher studies. He gave an account of the progress and hopes, mentioning casually how the church was falling about their heads but they were making another of clay and straw which would last the next three years. His letter to the king had a frankness truly remarkable, if one believes the monarch to have been absolute and autocratic. In effect, he said: the bishop is a blessing; this land lacks good women for the menfolk, so send some and many orphan girls to check concubinage and foster Christian family life; this land is too poor to support the high salaried carpenters sent by the court and consequently they want to get away; it is also too poor to pay the mounting costs of the episcopal and government officials; now that the term of Thomé de Sousa is closing his highness might do well to seek another like him to continue the great work he has accomplished; all things spiritual and temporal are progressing; the converted Indians are set apart in *aldeias*. The last highly significant remark indicates the prelude to the *reduction* system of the Jesuits.[43]

---

[39] CJ I, 128, Nóbrega to the Provincial of Portugal, 1552.

[40] *Ibid.*, 129.

[41] NCJ, 29-33, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, July 1552. The bishop soon realized that he had to depend solely upon the Jesuits; his early judgments were erroneous, though inspired by high ideas of a sudden reform of the different classes of people; unfortunately, he did not like the land and was soon discouraged. For an account of him, see Leite, *História,* II, 515-522.

[42] Cf. note 36.

III. Building in the South

The time came for Thomé de Sousa's inspection tour of the coastal cities.[44] With him sailed Nóbrega, Francisco Pires, and four orphan boys, at the end of 1552. The first stop on the 1,000 mile voyage was at Ilhéus. At Porto Seguro they met Navarro. They found Father Braz and a brother making good progress at Espírito Santo. The seminary for Indian boys with its grammar school was flourishing, while natives, slaves, and whites were under instruction. Proceeding to the bay of Rio de Jainero they did not land because the tribes were warring. Near the captaincy of São Vicente a big storm struck the ships, but all came safely to the island village of São Vicente in the Bay of Santos. There the fathers were warmly welcomed in January 1553 at the Jesuit house by Leonardo Nunes and eighty boys and Jesuits living there.[45]

Nunes had made remarkable progress in the vice-ridden land of João Ramalho, the wealthy renegade, whose many *mameluco* sons lived wild and naked with the free Indians. The father had fourteen youths in training as Jesuit novices.[46] In his school reading, writing, singing, the flute, and some Latin were taught.[47] He had built the best church on the coast and had a large house. Nearby, the "father of São Paulo metallurgy," Brother Noguiera, operated a shop in which boys were trained to be smiths, carpenters, and weavers, while in the gardens and orchards others learned agriculture and horticulture. The two fathers were maintained by the king's small subsidy; alms were begged for the others; two benefactors gave some farms. In view of the development Nóbrega officially made this group of buildings the Colégio de Meninos on February 2, 1553, preaching a special sermon on the occasion. Thus the coastal center was well established for its purposes.[48]

There was, however, a great desire on the part of the fathers to missionize the *sertão,* the backwoods, beyond the estates immediately surrounding the bay. The nearby area was a moral eyesore, due chiefly to the ancient Ramalho who lived three leagues inland. From over the mountains came invitations to the fertile plains and valleys where natives were neither fickle nor cannibalistic. This *sertão,* even to the villages of the gentle Guaraní, was to *mamelucos* ideal for vicious slave raids, but to the fathers "a mine of souls." Nóbrega soon paid a visit to the nearer tribes.[49]

---

[43] CJ I, 135.

[44] Leite, *História,* has suitable facsimile maps of the various ports visited; his chapters recount the history of each place for the sixteenth century.

[45] Nóbrega wrote three letters under dates of February 12, June 15, and August 31, 1553, describing the southern situation; these are in NCJ, 34-52.

[46] CJ II, 98, Pero Correia to the Brothers in Africa, 1551.

[47] NCJ, 45, Nóbrega to Father Câmara, June 15, 1553.

[48] NCJ, 51-52, *id.* to *id.,* August 31, 1553; cf. Leite, *História,* I, 271-277.

In view of the reports he determined in June 1553 to establish a great city for Indians one hundred leagues west,[50] and another in the plain twelve leagues from São Vicente.[51] The former plan was fulfilled in the Paraguay Reductions, the latter in the great city of São Paulo. The birth date of São Paulo de Piratininga falls in the very last week of August 1553.[52] Then, on this site Nóbrega brought together converts and neophytes from three villages for better instruction. Here, isolated from contacts with whites, they could establish their own economy, enjoy village life, and be tutored in grammar, crafts, agriculture, and grazing. Father Manuel de Paiva was placed in charge with some brothers. Father Nunes was sent by boat to Bahia to conduct south some missionaries who had arrived there on July 13. He returned to São Vicente on December 24 with two fathers and two brothers, one of whom was José de Anchieta, as yet not ordained nor famed. Moreover, he brought word of the departure of Thomé de Sousa and of the arrival of the new governor, Duarte da Costa. And to the joy of all except the superior he handed over letters patent from Ignatius Loyola designating Nóbrega provincial of Brazil.[53] In this capacity Nóbrega held the official opening ceremonies of the Colégio de São Paulo de Piratininga on January 25, 1554. How the city of São Paulo grew around this institution whose first houses were built by Jesuit hands, has been frequently told.

---

[49] NCJ, 137, Leonard Nunes to Nóbrega, June 29, 1552.

[50] NCJ, 41.

[51] NCJ, 44.

[52] NCJ, 52; cf. Leite, *História,* I, 277.

[53] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana,* Series I, Vol. V, 181-182. Ignatius wrote: "We, therefore, since we have much confidence in your piety and prudence, which is in Christ, command you in virtue of holy obedience to take the office." This was on July 9, 1553. On June 15, 1553, Ignatius ordered the profession of Fathers Nóbrega and Luys de Grana (Luiz da Grã), *ibid.,* 128. Grã, about whom an article follows in after pages, named associate (*Socius*) or assistant to Nóbrega, remained in Bahia after his arrival in July 1553. In another letter dated August 13, 1553, the Jesuit general ordered Nóbrega to give more distinct and exact statements regarding temporal things, since the information from Brazil was imperfect, and to put in such details as where each house was, how many were in it, etc., *ibid.,* 329-330. Grã wrote such a letter at the end of 1553, NCJ, 160 ff.

Elevation to the provincialate did not change much the nature of Nóbrega's worries. Apparently, all legalities were satisfied only by May 1555, when he pronounced the vows of the professed.[54] One special concern was getting men; another was keeping them in the field. Thomé de Sousa on his arrival before King John III, giving high praise to the work done under Nóbrega's leadership, urged that more men be sent. He carried his plea to the Jesuits of Lisbon and Coimbra, cajoling and prodding them to go to Brazil.[55] Nóbrega, after repeatedly begging help, sent Father Nunes to Portugal to procure it, but on the way the ship was wrecked, June 30, 1554; survivors saw the valiant missionary go down, cross in hand, exhorting all to constancy in the faith. He was the fifth of the Jesuits to die, for a father and brother were overtaken suddenly by death at Bahia in 1553, and on June 8, 1554, two brothers were slain by Carijós. By 1554 seventeen Jesuits had come from Portugal and twelve had been received in Brazil. Nóbrega obtained no more from Portugal to the end of his provincialate in 1559, when seven arrived (of whom two survived), but during this time he admitted nineteen more in Brazil.[56]

From January 1554 until May 3, 1556, Nóbrega lived at the Colégio de Meninos of São Vicente and the Colégio de São Paulo, though he made trips to villages of the *sertão*. He had many administrative duties: giving instructions in moral theology, settling cases of conscience, settling points of canon law, obtaining faculties even from Rome for absolution and tangled marriage problems, writing to Portugal and to Ignatius for interpretations of the Jesuit constitutions and for instructions as to procedures, distributing his men. With the new governor at Bahia he had practically no communication owing to the infrequency of boats between north and south Brazil. He was aware that a quarrel had arisen between the governor's son and the bishop, which was instrumental in causing the bishop to resign.

Practically, Nóbrega did much to consolidate his province and the people. Jesuits were sent to study at Piratininga, where from 1554 secondary education was in progress. This led to the official establishment of the college there in 1556. At São Vicente the "college" for boys flourished. To tie the natives of the *sertão* down into organized social units, five *aldeias,* villages of reduced Indians, were established at Maniçoba, Mairahaia, Geribatiba, Ibirapuera, and Santo Amaro, each with its church and primary school.[57] The provincial's leadership in this concerted drive to form and elevate Indian society was notable, but requires a book to fill in the details. He had of necessity to make trips into the backwoods. On one such he went by canoe and on foot some one hundred twenty miles, passing through villages with four lads who attracted the people by chanting litanies. In one place they came upon tribesmen in the act of butchering a number of slaves. Nóbrega wished to baptize the unfortunates, but the crazed cannibals refused him. Nevertheless, he secretly and with great danger to his life performed the rite by squeezing holy water from his handkerchief.[58] In this year of 1554 the fathers brought a local war to a halt and nipped a budding revolt in the interior.[59]

---

[54] CJ I, 147, Nóbrega to Father Ignacio de Azevedo, 1556.
[55] CJ II, Introduction, 19.
[56] Names and data are in Leite, *História,* I, 560-561, 573-575.

The village of Maniçoba was significant. Ninety miles from São Vicente it was established by Nóbrega as a step toward Paraguay where he yearned to go.[60] The peoples of this land originally lured him south, and now that his centers were established, his eyes ever turned westward. Paraguay, however, was the land of the Spanish Emperor, and King John III early gave orders to Thomé that no Portuguese were to go beyond the Line of Demarcation into Spanish-owned lands.[61] Because of his great desire to be off to the west, Nóbrega hoped soon to be relieved of the provincial's duties. Probably illness would have prevented his going, for he says he was very near death from an infirmity which no one escaped in this land—a tumor or swelling of the stomach.[62] At least, from his writings, Portugal, Spain, and Rome knew there was a promising missionary field in Paraguay thirty years before the *reductions* were begun.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL RETURNS NORTH

The provincial, though not fully recovered from his illness, had reasons for going north to Bahia. He had to make a visitation of all houses in his province. During this his duty was to explain and promulgate the final constitutions of the Society which had recently arrived. Then, he had heard that the brother of the governor had subdued new tribes, who were now ready for instruction. Further, he expected a successor to come with the next governor. Whereupon, leaving all things in order and Father Grã in charge of the south, he started up the coast on May 3, 1556.[63]

---

[57] *Ibid.,* I, 302 ff.

[58] CJ II, 137-138, Letter of Brother Correa, 1554.

[59] Leite, *História,* I, 286.

[60] *Ibid.,* I, 335.

[61] *Ibid.,* I, 340-341.

[62] CJ I, 149, Nóbrega to Azevedo, 1556.

The journey was one of torment and tempest. For fifteen days after May 7 the boat carrying two fathers and four brothers made no progress, first because a violent storm tossed the ship around in one place, and next because of a great calm which came when one of the Jesuits dropped an Agnus Dei into the waves. Fifteen days were spent in Espírito Santo, where Nóbrega preached through interpreters. A stop was made ten leagues north of this, then at Porto Seguro. At Santo Amaro six days were spent organizing and establishing a class of one hundred persons. The provincial arrived at Bahia July 30, where he was received with open arms by fathers and citizens.[64]

For the next three and one-half years the Father Provincial directed his men from headquarters at Bahia. Heartaches and physical pain were constantly with him, but he bore his sufferings with an unswerving greatness of soul. The bishop in whom he had placed such hopes and whom he banked upon for the ordinations of young Jesuits had departed for Portugal June 16, 1556, a discouraged man. Dreadful news of him soon arrived to sadden the city. Seventy leagues up the coast, at the very beginning of the 3,500 miles voyage to Lisbon, the boats were wrecked. Of the survivors all but ten were slain and eaten by the Indians. Nóbrega wrote to his old friend Thomé de Sousa:

> Our Lord has taken Bishop Dom Pedro Fernandes, who was virtuous in his way, as Your Honor is aware, and very zealous for the reformation of the morals of the Christians, but who showed little concern for the heathens and their salvation, since he did not deem himself their bishop and they seemed to him incapable of all doctrine because of their brutality and beastiality, nor did he have them as sheep in his fold, nor did he consider that Christ, Our Lord, would be honored in having them as such. Yet in this help me, Your Honor, to praise Our Lord in His providence, which permitted that the bishop, fleeing the heathens and the land with little desire to die at their hands, was eaten by them, while to me, who have ever desired and

---

[63] CJ I, 150-155, Nóbrega to Padre Ignacio de Loyola, 1556.
[64] CJ II, 152-155, Brother Blásquez to S. Roque, August 4, 1556.

petitioned Our Lord for such an end and who have put myself in the occasion of it more than he, it has been denied.[65]

The death of the prelate left Brazil to the care of the ecclesiastical *visitador,* Dr. Francisco Fernandes.

The first Jesuit General, Ignatius Loyola, died on July 31, though word of this did not reach Brazil until the middle of the next year. No appointment of a successor had come and hence a second term of office was Nóbrega's disappointment. Failure to obtain more men from Portugal made him anxious about the spread of the work. Chronic illness badgered him, yet he carried on his ministries except when it became acute. His own feelings and needs were completely submerged in his desire to save the souls of the natives. A remarkable letter of his to the Jesuits in São Vicente reveals the all-embracing Christian charity behind his every action. Another quality of Nóbrega's, his trust in Providence to supply the next day's support and shelter, was in constant exercise.

The formation of smaller *aldeias* to remove the Christian Indians from the scandal of bad-living whites and cannibal savages went on slowly. In the outskirts of the city a church and residence were built on the Rio Vermelho.[66] Father Navarro had charge of Indians here and also of two new *aldeias* soon attached to it. Similar churches and centers were later set up, one named São Paulo, a league from the city, another, São João at three leagues, and another seven leagues away. These were quite flourishing. Babes were baptized, boys and girls were in the schools in numbers ranging from forty to two hundred, others were waiting to begin, while the older Christians were being strengthened each day by instructions in all ways of civilized life.

The governor had granted Nóbrega permission for *aldeias* but gave neither protection from assault nor financial aid. The worst fears of savage raids were realized on January 5, 1557, when Tubarão, one of Navarro's villages, was attacked.[67] The marauders slew many women, but Navarro's Christians captured some of the raiders. These were dragged before the governor for trial. The captors asked the death penalty and were elated when

---

[65] CJ I, 193, Nóbrega to Sousa, 1559; the letter was composed at different times and occupies many pages—191-218. Cf. also Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil,* 3rd ed., São Paulo, n. d., I, 348-349, 367; Leite, *História,* II, 515-522.

[66] CJ I, 177-190, Nóbrega to Fathers in Portugal, July 5, 1559. From the length of this and other letters it is clear how plentiful the documentation is on *aldeias.*

[67] CJ I, 156-157, Quadrimestre of January to April 1557.

Duarte granted it. Navarro hastened to him in dismay. Did he not know that the Indians would eat the slain captives? The appeal arrived too late. The governor, feeling like a Pilate, then spoke to the Indians of Tubarão; they would not be allowed into the church, nor would the padre return to them until they had done penance for their lapse into cannibalism. Obediently they atoned. Don Alvaro again led forces against the hinterland savages for months, until they too capitulated. The crime of these Christian Indians of an *aldeia* was heartbreaking to Nóbrega, especially when he reflected how quickly they had lapsed. It made him more determined to train the youngsters soundly in Christian manners. But on April 30, 1557, his small band received a stiff blow. Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro, beloved by the Jesuits, father and brother to the Indians, and the first linguist of Brazil, died of a heart ailment complicated by fever.[68] Eleven days later King John III died.

The third governor general, Mem de Sá, arrived at Bahia on December 28, 1557. When the accomplishments of this official during his long term of office are completely studied he may well take rank with the great governors of colonial America. Brazil might conceivably have become a very bad investment had it not been for his forceful rule.

With him Nóbrega held conferences at the beginning of 1558. He told Mem de Sá the problems without bandying words, and the governor was willing to listen to one who knew Brazil in detail.[69] It seemed to the crown more important, said Nóbrega, to spend money on forts, officials, and soldiers. These would never elevate the people nor hold the back country; they would bring neither security nor progressiveness to the scattered settlements. He suggested the establishment of large *aldeias,* care of the youth, education in these, the subjugation of the *sertão* groups by arms if necessary but better by the transfer of Christian Indians as colonists to the most populous regions. The amalgamation of smaller villages into these larger units would forestall raiders and by bringing together Indians of different sections do away with their hate for one another, which led to wars. Why the fathers had not done this before was explained frankly.

---

[68] CJ II, 54, note, and 164-167, for his life and virtues.

[69] NCJ, 75-87, Notes on affairs of Brazil, Nóbrega; for full amplification cf. *Documentos relativos a Mem de Sá,* in *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro,* 1876-1927, Volume XXVII. For the relations between the governors general and the Jesuits cf. Leite, *História,* II, 140-153, especially 153.

While officials and the king praised their work, the governor would give no permission for the larger *aldeias;* the officials seemed inclined to keep the Indians at their petty wars; the white settlers were outstanding drawbacks to the spread of Christian practices, and, as the instigators of tyranny, deserved justice;[70] not even Thomé de Sousa had been able to get money from the king's *fazenda* for the support of a college or orphans or education of the natives;[71] the fathers lived on alms since they could not collect rentals from the whites, even though these were supposed to be given them by officials from the king's tax collections.

Mem de Sá, coming to a complete understanding with Nóbrega, pounced upon the Brazilian problems one by one. Space permits only a summary of his telling blows in the north during 1558 and 1559. He wrote for a subsidy for the Jesuit college, which came in 1559; he added support money for the other Jesuit residences, students, and boarders in the schools; he authorized the amalgamation of smaller *aldeias* into large Indian centers, thus strengthening the framework of society. The Jesuits, besides enlarging the Rio Vermelho *aldeia,* soon developed three greater villages, named São João, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo. In the latter, after elaborate ceremonial openings, Nóbrega lived during months of illness. Over each friendly chieftains held sway, while Black Robes directed spiritual and temporal affairs. The governor, literally and figuratively, became godfather to whole groups of Indians. His troopers, sent to check marauding savages, soon indicated to the wild men that laws would be enforced. Expeditions successfully pacified those to the south around Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo, who were nightmares to the fathers in *aldeias.* Trials and punishments came to white and Indian lawbreakers. Within six months the hopes of Nóbrega for a fuller spiritual and cultural conquest were again in the ascendant. New churches, schools, farms, and *aldeias,* in smoother operation around Bahia, presaged happier days and permitted the extension of civilization into the *sertão.*[72]

Cheering news arrived from Rome in 1559. Word of the election of James Laínez as general of the Society and of the choice of Luiz da Grã as provincial of Brazil filled Nóbrega with joy.

---

[70] CJ II, 179-197, especially 180, Brother Blásquez to Father General, 1558.

[71] NCJ, 63, Nóbrega to Father Torres, September 2, 1557.

[72] For statements of this paragraph cf. letters in CJ II, 179-192, 194-197, 198-201, and NCJ, 75-87.

Under date of July 30 he wrote to Laínez an account of his stewardship over the period of ten years with a survey of the state of his province. He rated himself "as one born out of time"; he was a forerunner, whose labors had been spade work; he trusted that others would gather the harvest, which he felt assured would be abundant.[73] After presenting his realistic estimate of the status of Brazilian society, Nóbrega again stepped down into the ranks, and awaited the arrival of Grã from the south.

Despite infirmities he plunged into the work in progress at the São Paulo church and school, where fathers and brothers were preachers, teachers, medics, infirmarians, servants, and directors of the newer life of the Indians. Bishop Pedro Leitão reached São Salvador, December 8, 1559, to begin fourteen years of devoted work.[74] With him came seven new Jesuit missionaries. This augment brought the total of arrivals from Europe to 24; Nóbrega had received 31 in Brazil. The mortality rate had been high, while all suffered regularly from maladies, the worst of which were fevers and an illness whose main symptom was a bleeding from the throat. With a friendly prelate at the helm and Bahia strengthened in all ways attention was directed to the south where a serious menace had developed. The French were entrenched at Rio de Janeiro, and the Portuguese crown wanted them ejected.

V. RIO DE JANEIRO

The Bay of Rio de Janeiro, Baía de Guanabara, was the homeland of two important tribes of Indians, the Maracajas, most of the time friends of the Portuguese, and the Tamóios, most of the time enemies.[75] The region had from early times been visited by French and Portuguese traders, some of whom dwelled there. When Nóbrega with Thomé de Sousa at the end of 1552 stopped briefly at the bay, he instructed the Maracajas and probably said the first Mass in that vicinity. Thomé was for establishing a settlement, but owing to illness prevailing among the men and tribal warfare he laid other plans. Thus, in April 1555, he had a large village of Maracajas transported as a colony up the coast to the captaincy of Espírito Santo. Control of the bay area and of the coast toward São Vicente for many miles was in the hands of Tamóio chieftains, lords of whom were two named Cunhambeba, one a veritable devil, according to report.

---

[73] NCJ, 89, Nóbrega to Laínez, July 30, 1559; cf. CJ II, 247-249.

[74] Leite, *História,* 522-524; CJ III, 309.

[75] *Ibid.,* I, 361-370.

Seven months after this transfer, November 10, Cavelier Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon came to Rio with a Huguenot colony and built a stronghold on the island now bearing his name. This was the famed Antarctica project of Coligny. Strangely enough, the leader is reputed to have tried to enlist French Jesuits to come with him, failing which he brought the secularized Franciscan, André Thevet. Making friends with the Tamóios Villegaignon's colony alarmed the Portuguese court, since it threatened São Vicente. Tamóios, fearful enough in their own right, were dread spectres when armed with French weapons for attacks on São Vicente. Moreover, French corsairs were in a position to sail east to intercept Portuguese commerce plying the west coast of Africa.

Portugal acted. An armada was sent to Bahia in 1559. It got under way from Bahia on January 16, 1560, the governor general in command and Nóbrega aboard.[76] The eight ships stood off the islands of Guanabara February 21. Nóbrega was so ill that he had to continue on to São Vicente. Apparently, the captain of his boat was to gather reinforcements for the governor, who had estimated the strength of the French. Boats, one carrying artillery, and war canoes manned by Indians and Mamelucos were soon on the way. The new forces had along two Jesuits, a father chaplain and a brother interpreter. These joined Mem de Sá, who launched his attack on the French fort March 15. In the absence of Villegaignon, the sixty French and their eight hundred Tamóio allies were routed by about one hundred twenty Portuguese and one hundred forty Indian allies. This victory constituted the first phase of the conquest of Rio de Janeiro, even though French settlers remained around the bay.

After the two days' assault Mem de Sá went to São Vicente to confer with a very sick Padre Nóbrega, who lay emaciated except for swellings and abcesses from head to foot. Nóbrega and Mem de Sá were agreed on plans to occupy the Bay of Rio by means of sturdy settlements. But to do this meant new conflict with the hostile Tamóios. The governor then sailed for the north, where he arrived August 29, taking with him the new Jesuit provincial, Luiz da Grã, and leaving Nóbrega with great work to be done.

---

[76] For the attack on the French numerous short accounts could be cited. Anchieta has one in CJ III, 144-160, to the Father General, Laínez, June 1, 1560; Nóbrega's is in CJ I, 223-227, Nóbrega to Cardinal Henry, June 1, 1560. The Jesuit leader constantly had in mind the foundation of a great city on the bay, and clearly proposed the steps to be taken toward this end; cf. *ibid.*, 227.

The restless seeker of souls had recuperated sufficiently by the end of June to be off to Piratininga. If this article were to become a book (which would do more justice to the theme) details of Nóbrega's next two years of work might be narrated.[77] Though interesting they must be synopsized. He visited *aldeias;* he preached, sometimes thrice a week; he heard confessions, with and without interpreters depending upon whether the penitents were whites, mamelucos, slaves, or Indians. From the plains he returned to São Vicente, there to act as pastor to the three settlements. He conducted cases of conscience; he instructed younger Jesuits and directed them in retreats held at a *casita* which he had had built for the purpose. He was revered by the Jesuits for his experience and kindness, was consulted by them and by settlers. Never in his writings do we find reference to his relatives or to things he had left in Portugal. He had become to all appearances a Brazilian, laboring and hoping in the cause of his adopted land.

His next service to the crown and to Brazil was a clear manifestation of his leadership and ingenuity. It was also the second important step toward the foundation of Rio de Janeiro. Things began with a Tupi attack on the College of São Paulo in July 1562. Indians of the *sertão* were obviously getting bolder and more restless. Furthermore, from the east and north came Tamóio raiders, capturing Christian Indians of the São Vicente vicinity, slaying some and holding some as slaves. The condition of the entire south was critical by 1563. Added to this the civilized natives were deserting their villages in fear or were backsliding into paganism. Such as these attacked Piratininga. In carrying out the cruel duty of punishment following the Christians' victorious defense, the victors caused old hatreds to flame anew. Instructions could not be carried on, and Christian laws began to lapse. Even two war parties sent against the fierce Tamóios at Nóbrega's suggestion failed to halt their depredations.

---

[77] CJ III, 165-176, Anchieta to Laínez, June 12, 1561; *ibid.,* 177-180, *id.* to *id.,* September 20, 1562; *ibid.,* 181-193, *id.* to *id.,* April 16, 1563. NCJ, 93-112, has five letters of Nóbrega, from April 14 to June 12, 1561.

One of Nóbrega's main worries was financing and supporting the Jesuit establishments. He and Father Grã had discussions on the interpretation of the Jesuit constitutions regarding poverty; there was no question of antipathies or personal distrust between the two, since both were striving to attain the ideal of being absolutely poor, and both had scruples about acquiring (for the Society) houses, farms, and slaves. Grã's argument that the fathers should beg food and shelter seemed impractical to Nóbrega, in view of the fact that nobody in Brazil had any alms to give; the situation in Europe where Nóbrega had begged according to Grã's ideal, was different. Further discussion of this is presented in Dr. Espinosa's article, note 9.

Nóbrega decided upon a daring stroke. This, based upon the policy "divide and conquer," was a plan to divide the Tamóios of the coast closer to São Vicente from those around the Bay of Rio and then to unite the Rio division with faithful Tupis of his vicinity. The alliance would make the civilization of Rio less difficult. But who would dare to go to the Tamóios with the peace proposal? Nóbrega volunteered, and the Portuguese officials accepted his offer with profound gratitude, knowing his life was being jeopardized for the safety of the south.

The Jesuit leader's choice of a companion obviously fell upon Brother José de Anchieta, who knew all tongues, even those of birds of the air, it was said. They set out in canoes to get to the boats of one José Adorno, a prominent Genoese, who was agreeable to the Tamóios because of his neutral nationality. With him and some Portuguese the peace party embarked on April 23. Anchieta has left a fine account of the entire trip.[78]

The first stop was for Mass on the island full of "tigers," São Sebastião. May 6 found them about half the distance to Rio in enemy land at Iperoig. They announced their mission, but the Tamóio chief doubted their identity as padres (to whom alone of all Portuguese he would speak) until a woman formerly of São Vicente recognized Nóbrega as the great Christian chief. Welcome then was theirs. Anchieta went among villagers crying aloud his desire to be peaceful and to instruct all. Some recalled how these fathers had prevented Tupis from devouring them on one occasion, whereupon word of their arrival and call spread through the land. One prominent leader invited the two to his shelter, which led to a complication verging on war, since each village wished to play host. By May 9 some children were instructed for baptism and Mass was said to the utter amazement of the savages. Though watched at every step Nóbrega and Anchieta preached freely against paganism and cannibalism, winning the affection of the people, and the esteem of the warriors.

Many trials and dangers were encountered during the weeks of the peace negotiations. Nóbrega and Anchieta were in reality hostages. Any overt act of the Tupis meant their death. There were five groups of Tamóios in the confederacy, each treacherous, each capable of upsetting all plans in a moment. The total force of the confederates would be some two hundred canoes of twenty to thirty-five warriors each. This force was massing, it seemed at first, for a devastating attack on São Vicente. Cunhambeba of Rio, a chief with twelve canoes, whose boast was his personal consumption of three hundred Tupis, miraculously changed his mind about devouring the fathers. Others began to arrive May 27 for the general council. Chiefs Pindobuçu and Aimbiré coming from Guanabara Bay also had appetites well whetted for killing and eating the ambassadors. Adorno, on his way to talk peace around Rio, dissuaded the cruel Aimbiré, telling him to calm down because he himself was then in grave danger. The chief arriving at Iperoig found the others already in the armistice and he therefore joined in the great pow-wow.

---

[78] CJ III, 196-200, Anchieta to Laínez, January 1565. Cf Leite, *História,* I, 366-375.

In this Nóbrega, Anchieta, Adorno, a French captain from Rio, Indian chiefs, and medicine men had their say. Anchieta, speaking for Nóbrega, proposed peace between Tamóios, Tupis, and Portuguese, and peaceful trade and communication. The Tamóios wanted, as a preliminary to any discussion, some Tupi chiefs for eating, especially those who had attacked Piratininga. This was flatly turned down by the Jesuits. The upshot of fifteen days' discussion was that the ambassadors would have to return to São Vicente with terms for the officials. Chief Aimbiré was even then plotting an assault on São Vicente as a means of thwarting the peace, and the rebel Tupis were massing to stop it by war. Someone had to go to São Vicente to mollify the Tupis and report the conference. The assembled chieftains would not allow both Jesuits to go, and hence Nóbrega went on June 21, leaving Anchieta to carry on as hostage and representative until all was settled in September.

Nóbrega was again very ill, but in São Vicente he forced a settlement with three hundred Tupis in the Jesuit college of São Paulo de Piratininga. Then Cunhambeba with many others came to the church of Itanhaém, near São Vicente, and Nóbrega had the happiness of seeing Tupis and Tamóios embrace each other and promise peace. Cunhambeba returned to restore the hostage Anchieta to Nóbrega on September 22, 1563.

With peace made, and before the natives changed their fickle minds, the moment for fortifying and populating the great harbor of Rio seemed propitious. Nóbrega stands out as the soul of the glorious enterprise leading to the foundation of a second colonial capital, now grown to world fame. Many pressing reasons urged the Portuguese to strike roots in the bay area or else lose the south. French corsairs still lurked along the coast, pausing at times to attack the settlements; they threatened to kill anyone found saying Mass; they jeopardized the progress already made in civilization; "fifth columnists" still lived around Guanabara Bay, who might stir up the Tamóios or betray the place to France. On the positive side, Cunhambeba's friendship opened up a promising field for new mission work.

Details of the foundation of Rio de Janeiro have received justice from many Brazilian historians.[79] They can only be summarized here, with a suggestion that some writer bring them all together in book form for North American readers. On notices of conditions in Brazil, Queen Catherine in 1563 sent two armed galleons under Estacio de Sá, nephew of the governor, to clear the coast of French boats and fortify the harbor. At Bahia Estacio gathered reenforcements and was dispatched south by Mem de Sá under instructions to do nothing until he had consulted with Nóbrega. In January 1564 Estacio moved to Espírito Santo, enlisted the aid of a friendly chieftain, and then arrived at Rio in February. From here he sent a small boat to São Vicente for Nóbrega. For some reason the padre and Anchieta did not set out until March 19. They stopped to greet the Tamóios of Iperoig and reached Rio during a storm in the middle of the night of March 31—making two hundred miles in twelve days. They found no galleons, no Estacio, but only hostile Tamóios! The captain, worried about the two months' delay, had started for São Vicente. He was driven back into port the next morning, Easter Saturday, thus preventing the capture of the Jesuits by tribesmen.

Evidences of native misdoings, burned houses, remains of human carcasses, slain slaves, and signs of a plague dictated the immediate procedure. The Tamóios were ugly. The best place to lay plans was indeed elsewhere. Therefore, on Nóbrega's advice, the armada was steered to São Vicente. On its arrival there in April Nóbrega was indefatigable in making detailed preparations for the conquest of Rio. With the captain he made trips to villages and to Piratininga, publishing pardons to chiefs, enlisting warriors, gathering settlers, supplies, construction materials, organizing Indians and mamelucos as colonists to the number of two hundred. He appointed Father Gonçalo Oliveira chaplain and, best of all, Anchieta as chronicler of the expedition. When the fleet left on January 22, 1565, Nóbrega remained at São Vicente to continue his efforts toward making the Rio settlement a success.

---

[79] Cf. Leite, *História,* I, 381-389, for some references; for the following account of the Jesuits, cf. CJ III, 245-254, Anchieta to Father Mirão, July 9, 1565. This is annotated by Afrânio Peixoto.

Estacio de Sá established the city officially at the entrance to the bay on March 1, 1565. Beforehand he had had his fears for the expedition. What account could he give to God and the king if his colony was destroyed, he had asked Nóbrega. To which he heard a confident response: "Senhor, I will give God an account of all, and if it be necessary, I will go before the King and answer for you."[80] Now, he still had fears for two years, necessarily maintaining military rule until 1567. But he placed his fortifications and artillery remarkably well for controlling Tamóios and repelling the French. Nóbrega at São Vicente and São Paulo continued his missionary work. He was not satisfied with the conditions around São Vicente, and he sought permission to move the students from there and from São Paulo to Rio, so earnest was he about making the new city a great center.

VI. Rector of Rio

The newly fortified section of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro was dedicated to St. Sebastian, patron of the ill-fated young king of Portugal. So too was the church built in the shadow of Sugar Loaf Mountain by Chaplain Oliveira, the first, formal Catholic building of the great city.

In the course of events it became time for the Roman headquarters of the Society of Jesus to hold an inspection of the Province of Brazil. Both Nóbrega, director of the southern part, and Grã, the provincial, had requested a Visitor, primarily to settle certain points of action which were in dispute, but with a view to manifesting the weaknesses of the province as regards man power and its possibilities with more aid. In February 1566 letters patent for the office of Visitor were sent by the new Jesuit general, St. Francis Borgia, to Inácio Azevedo (Açevedo).[81]

The Visitor arrived in Bahia on August 24, 1566. There he viewed the *aldeias* so capably organized. The stamp of his approval went on the work. Moreover, he authorized the novitiate and approved its practices to the time. He suggested the necessary reorganization of the curriculum for the College of Bahia, and corrected the minor faults of its religious.[82]

Inspection soon became the order of the day in Brazil. Governor Mem de Sá had determined to visit the south, especially to get rid of the French who again were strengthening a position on Guanabara Bay. Bishop Leitão likewise had a visitation to make in the south in order to appreciate better his vast diocese. Grã, of course, would accompany the Jesuit Visitor. These four with the newly ordained Father Anchieta sailed down the coast, stopping at the various ports, Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo. Arriving in the harbor of Rio on January 18, 1567, Mem de Sá turned the expedition into a conquest. Without delay he attacked the fortifications of the French, routing defenders and their Indian allies, and ending a stubborn resistance by expulsion. The joyous occasion was spoiled by the loss of Estacio de Sá who was struck in the face by an arrow and died within a month.[83]

---

[80] Leite, *História,* I, 382, has this and the variant.

[81] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu (MHSJ), Polanco Complementum,* II, 660.

[82] *MHSJ, Borgia,* IV, 341-345, Azevedo to Borgia, November 19, 1566, and *ibid.,* 411-413, Azevedo to Borgia, February 20, 1567.

After spending some time with the three Jesuits living in Rio, Grã embarked for São Vicente in Lent and from there reached his journey's end, São Paulo de Piratininga, in April. Nóbrega appeared old beyond his years, worn by labor and illnesses. Azevedo, deeply impressed by the holiness of the men he had met, was filled with a desire to join Nóbrega and Grã in their poverty and living martyrdom. No greater approval of the builder's fundamental work and of the possibilities of missionary life in Brazil could have been offered than Azevedo's desire to follow the paths which he had made. Rejoicing in the spiritual stimulation and intellectual companionship of each other, the Visitor, the provincial, the founder, and Anchieta betook themselves to the western side of Guanabara Bay to begin, as Nóbrega had long wished, a great Jesuit college. They arrived at Rio de Janeiro on July 24, 1567.[84]

What part Nóbrega played in the consultations held by Mem de Sá regarding the transfer of settlers to the new city of Morro de S. Januario do Castelo cannot be told in detail. Certainly, the pioneer padre's opinion was asked on almost all important questions whether moral, religious, dogmatic, administrative, social, or military. The government officials, the bishop, and the Jesuits respected his ever practical advice. He was a man of the new land, a father to all peoples, weighing problems without selfish considerations, judging things in their relation to the greater good of the greatest number and the greater glory to God. Azevedo, in agreement with his suggestions, had ordained that a Jesuit novitiate and house of studies should be founded on the higher land overlooking the beautiful harbor. These training schools, according to the Jesuit pattern, were to be forerunners of a college for secular students. Over this incipient college he put Nóbrega, the father of the province, as rector, giving him control over all Jesuit houses of the south with powers to readjust the Jesuit personnel and to reorganize with Rio as a center. Mem de Sá, in line with instructions from the king, gave the fathers a plot of ground within the new city and guaranteed sufficient money from the king's coffers to support fifty Jesuits.[85]

---

[83] CJ I, 53, Franco, *Vida*.

[84] *Ibid.*, 54; CJ III, 326; Leite, *História*, 391-392, 398, and map of Guanabara Bay facing page 400.

The sight of buildings in construction and of workmen, hammers, and shovels, coupled with Azevedo's encouragements, gave Nóbrega a new lease on life. A new city, a new cultural center, more *aldeias,* loomed before his eyes. As rector and coordinator he went back to São Vicente and to São Paulo to gather supplies, implements, and some citizens, for an exodus to Rio. Novices from Piratininga were later brought to reside in the residence beside the new church of São Sebastião. Since the classroom building was not built in a day, the "collegians" remained in the schools at São Vicente and São Paulo. Particulars of Nóbrega's movements during the latter half of 1567 are lacking, probably because of his intense activity in directing building, in preaching, confessing, assigning programs for the organization of Tamóio *aldeias,* and in consulting with the higher officials—Mem de Sá, Bishop Leitão, Azevedo, and Grã. And he was not well, according to Franco, for the land was new, the food scarce, and the shelter poor. His spirit, however, rejoiced; Azevedo had promised to send many helpers to his Brazil.

The Visitor tried hard enough to get away. Three times during 1567 he attempted to round Cabo Frio, three times to be driven back to Rio. Only in March 1568 did he reach Bahia. He sailed for Portugal in August, got to Lisbon on October 31, and at the end of May 1569 was in Rome giving an account to the general of his inspection. A month later, Father Francis Borgia, in view of Grã's term of office and Nóbrega's illness and building task, appointed Azevedo provincial of Brazil with permission to gather as many missionaries as possible.[86]

---

[85] Estacio de Sá in 1565 gave the Jesuits the site for the old church of S. Sebastião; the king confirmed the grant for this church in the new city on January 11, 1568, though Azevedo had accepted the property from Mem de Sá in August of 1567; *ibid.,* I, 391-392; King Sebastião's donation to the new college was an annual rental of 2,500 cruzados; *ibid.,* I, 410 ff., for finances, and 545-547 for the *auto,* or foundation charter; cf. also Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil,* edited by Rodolfo Garcia *et al,* second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 306-309, 360-362.

Fired with enthusiasm Azevedo put up at various Jesuit colleges in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, begging in each for volunteers to go with him to Brazil.[87] By the end of the year he had over seventy, and when the departure was about to take place, June 5, 1570, he had distributed them on three ships of the fleet, twenty-three on one, thirty-nine with himself on the *Santiago,* and three on another. These were the long sought reenforcements for Nóbrega; these were the fathers and youthful brothers who would assuredly have done much to make the founder's dream come true, they who would have taught in the colleges, developed more reductions, and evangelized the sertão Indians. But the waiting Nóbrega never learned their fate. The ships were a scant three leagues from anchorage in the Canary Islands when suddenly the fleet of the notorious French pirate, Jacques Sória (Sores, Suárez, "Peg Leg"), swooped down on the *Santiago.* Practically without opposition the Huguenot corsairs bounded over her sides with the cry: "Kill them, kill them, for they go to spread the false doctrine in Brazil." The forty Jesuits were cruelly slain or drowned in the seas, July 15-16, 1570. They have been beatified by the Church as martyrs. Their fellows on the other boats were reorganized in the Islands to continue to Brazil, but storms drove them on Cuba's shores. From there they made their way back to the Azores on Spanish ships. Again they started for Brazil, this time fourteen in number. Pirates, in the very same *Santiago* taken the year before, captured them and put twelve to the sword on September 13-14, 1571. Thus were the Brazilian missions dealt a fearful blow.

Meantime, Nóbrega, rounding out twenty years of work, prepared for the coming of Azevedo during 1569 and 1570. We may turn to the pages of Father Franco for an account of the manner in which he finished his life.[88]

> The Padre went about putting in order the affairs of the college and aiding in the foundation of the new city, feeling the approach of his last hour, bearing many infirmities and with all these not relaxing in his zeal.

---

[86] CJ II, 482, 490, 497; *MHSJ, Borgia,* V, 23.

[87] There are eleven letters between Borgia and Azevedo written from February 1569 to June 2, 1570 (three days before Azevedo sailed); these are published in *MHSJ, Borgia,* V, 23, 27, 62, 155, 187, 191, 194, 231, 236, 319, 409. For a running account of Azevedo's journey, for statistics, and additional documentation, cf. Leite, *História,* II, 242-265.

[88] CJ I, 54-55, Franco, *Vida.*

He came to the assistance of the Portuguese with sermons, he directed the Governor Salvador Corrêa de Sá. Added to this he had care of teaching the Indians who had come from the captaincy of Espírito Santo at the time of the conquest [of Rio]. These he brought together in a large village on the lands of the College, there to be more in quiet. This *aldeia* was ever in great increase and came to be a valliant defense for the city against Tamoyos, French, and English.

Father Nóbrega passed the rest of his life, three years, in Rio, ever with much work. Because he was very ill and the land new (into which the settlers did not dare to extend through fear of enemies), he had much need of the means to sustain his body. The greater gifts which he got were some alms sent to him by the superior of S. Vicente [Anchieta]. And so Our Lord wished that he, who all his life went with such great zeal and care gathering sustenance for all the Brethren in Brazil, in the end should be deprived of these means by embracing the cross of obedience, which in his case permitted the corporal wants but filled him with spiritual consolations.

He had a presentiment long before, according to what he wrote to S. Vicente [Anchieta], that life for him was about to end. As the time drew nearer, God drew nearer to him. He became absorbed with the meditations of St. Augustine and spent a great part of the day in colloquies [with God] and aspirations, for he was tenderly devoted [to God] and easily given to tears. Two or three days before his death he went walking through the city saying goodbye to friends and well-wishers of the Society. They asked him where he intended to go, since there was no boat in the port. He responded: "To our celestial fatherland."

He was overcome by great pains caused by his blood, since he had not been bled for a long time. He was forced to bed, where he was only a day or two. Soon he was prepared with the sacraments which are customarily received in emergency. He called for a father urging him to make haste and anoint him immediately. Having received the extreme unction, he told one of the fathers that he should say Mass right away before he expired and that the other father should wait until after.

After a short space of time, with a little discharge of blood from the mouth, he gave his spirit to the Lord, on the 18 of October of the year 1570, the day of St. Luke, on which very day he was born. The saintly Father Anchieta has it that on this day he also entered the Society, but what was stated in the beginning of this biography [November 21, 1544] is what is recorded in the books of the entrances of novices in the College of Coimbra.

His death was deeply felt, because he was as a father to all the new city of Rio de Janeiro, in whose College he died and in its Church was buried, amid the tears of his sons, of his Indians and Portuguese, who loved him much. This great man was as a universal father of the

Christendoms of Brazil which he saw abundantly founded and made into numerous villages of people brought from jungles, where they lived like beasts, and elevated with Christian customs.[89]

In interpreting the ways of the times it may be said that Nóbrega died in the morning during the first Mass. The second Mass was his requiem, and, after the office for the dead had been recited and his remains viewed by the people, he was buried in the afternoon of the same day. At fifty-three years of age, against apparently insurmountable physical handicaps, he had given a full life for the life of his adopted land. He was not aware that he was once more provincial, duly appointed at Rome in September by St. Francis Borgia.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Institute of Jesuit History

Luiz da Gra, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil

In recording the history of Jesuit activities in Brazil in their pioneering or heroic period, the figures of Nóbrega and Anchieta have long overshadowed those of their companions. However, the recent findings of Portuguese and Brazilian scholars make it necessary to revise some of our former points of emphasis. The importance of the rôles of Nóbrega and Anchieta remain unchanged; but to their names we must now add others, notably that of Luiz da Grã, whose work cannot be fairly disassociated from that of his more famous companions in relating the history of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil. His influence on the Brazilian social scene of his day was far-reaching. This remarkable trio—Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Grã—personify all that was noble and of lasting value in the mind and spirit of sixteenth-century Brazil.

I

Father Grã was born in Lisbon, the son of Antonio Taveira, of noble family, about the year 1523.[1] He was among the first who joined the newly organized Society of Jesus in Portugal. In 1543 he entered the University of Coimbra, where he studied civil law and arts, entering the Society there on June 20, 1543. After completing his studies with brilliance, and as yet in his twenties, from 1547 to 1550 he served as the fourth rector of the famous university and "missionary college" of Coimbra.[2]

These were years of controversy in the young Jesuit province of Portugal. One question was that of the quality of the Jesuit missionaries being sent to India and Brazil. Due to insufficient recruits during the early days, in view of the expanding mission fields, Francis Xavier had said that in India there was need of humble but zealous missionaries as well as those well trained and educated; now it was alleged that the best men were being reserved for activities in Europe, and that many inferior men were being sent to the overseas missions. To counter this view, which reached the ears of the royal authorities, who had assumed the vicariate of evangelizing Portugal's expanding empire, a conscious effort was made by the Society to send some of the very best trained men to work in the overseas missions.[3] Nóbrega, who had been sent to found the Jesuit mission in Brazil, would have added luster to the faculty of any European university. Grã was one of the ablest professors at the University of Coimbra.[4]

---

[1] Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, II, 471. Luiz da Grã was an illegitimate child, an impediment which was brought before the Jesuit authorities in Rome for removal shortly after he became rector at the University of Coimbra.

[2] By his example, Grã was a real influence in forming the character of his companions. Father António Pires, for example, credited Grã with having influenced him to remain in the Society during his early years of indecision. Pires was a member of the first Jesuit band to go to Brazil, where he proved a most able missionary. See António Pires to the members of the Society in Portugal, Pernambuco, June 5, 1553, in Afrânio Peixoto, general editor, *Cartas Jesuíticas,* 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933, II, 124; these will be cited as CJ I, II, and III.

There were other reasons for sending to Brazil at this time a Jesuit of the training and intellectual caliber of Grã. Nóbrega, from the beginning, had been requesting a Jesuit Visitor, or a companion with authority to assist him in administering the far-flung Brazilian province, because of the great distance between the Jesuit houses in Brazil, and the precarious means of transportation along the coast, and to counsel with in the solution of the many difficult moral and ethical problems which presented themselves on this raw frontier, and which he could not, or was hesitant to dare attempt to solve on his own initiative.[5]

Thus, Grã was sent as the leader of the third Jesuit expedition to Brazil, the famous little band of which José de Anchieta, then a young brother in the Society, was a member. Traveling on the same ship which carried the second governor general, Duarte da Costa, to Brazil, Grã and six Jesuit companions left Lisbon on May 8, 1553, and arrived at Bahia on July 13 of the same year.[6] Grã had been appointed by the Father General as *colateral,* or official companion of the Provincial Nóbrega, to remain in Bahia as a sort of vice-provincial when Nóbrega was in the southern captaincies, and vice versa. The office of *colateral,* created to meet a special need under unusual circumstances, was later done away with.[7]

---

[3] Leite, *História,* II, 472, and 472, note 3.

[4] Brief sketches of Grã's life may be found in Leite, *História,* II, 471-477; CJ II, 293-294, note 165, and III, 50-52, note 4; Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil,* edited by Rodolfo Garcia *et al,* second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 351-352, note 56; Antonio Franco, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* [1715], Pôrto, 1930, 241-242.

[5] See letter of Nóbrega to Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, São Vicente, June 15, 1553, and *id.* to *id.,* São Vicente, August 31, 1553, in Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* São Paulo, 1940, 39-50, 51-54 (cited hereinafter as NCJ).

[6] CJ II, 25; Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil,* second edition, Lisbon, 1865, Liv. 1, no. 134; Leite, *História,* II, 472.

Grã carried with him patents from St. Ignatius appointing Nóbrega first Jesuit provincial of Brazil, and authorizing Nóbrega and Grã to make their professions of four vows.

As *colateral,* Grã, who was extremely scrupulous, differed with Nóbrega on various matters of conscience. He vigorously opposed the use of either Negro or Indian slaves by the Jesuits.[8] He opposed anything that smacked of engaging in commerce to support Jesuit work. At first he disagreed with Nóbrega over the right of the Jesuits to possess landed properties and herds of livestock; later, realizing that such properties were necessary for the advancement of missionary work, he modified his views, and was, in fact, instrumental in obtaining useful properties in Piratininga and Pernambuco. Their independent views, described as mixing sometimes "like oil and vinegar," tended to give greater balance and strength to the final decisions of the provincial, and hence had a constructive influence.[9]

---

[7] The patent by which Brazil was elevated to a province with Nóbrega as first provincial, dated Rome, July 7, 1553, was accompanied by the letter designating Grã as his *colateral;* Leite, *História,* II, 456, 456, note 2; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 1, no. 147. Nóbrega makes first mention of having received these orders and instructions on March 25, 1555; Leite, *História,* II, 457; NCJ, 55-56.

The position of *colateral* was not the equivalent of the present position of *socius,* or secretary to the provincial, in the present Jesuit administrative system. As *colateral* Grã was Nóbrega's companion in authority; Leite, *História,* II, 472, note 6.

[8] On the use of Negro slaves, long generally accepted in the Old World, there was division of opinion. For Grã's and Nóbrega's views on the subject see NCJ, 111, Nóbrega to Father General Laínez, São Vicente, June 12, 1561; see also Leite, *História,* II, 224-231.

[9] Leite, *História,* I, 59, 64, 86, 110-112, 143, 174; II, 473; CJ III, 51, note 4. The differences over property holding revolved around the interpretation of poverty as stated in the Jesuit Constitutions as it applied to the realities of the situation in Brazil. Nóbrega expresses frankly the character of their conflicting views in the following paragraphs:

"Father Luiz da Grã, it appears, wishes to pursue these matters in a different spirit, wishing to edify the Portuguese people here through poverty, and convert the natives in the manner of S. Peter and the Apostles, and as S. Francis won many through penance and the example of poverty, and I always was persuaded to follow this course when I was in authority, and even now I have hoped to foster it when possible; and I always have had scruples in the matter, because he is very zealous in holy poverty, in which he wished to see us possess nothing, neither lands nor slaves, since we are few, and without them we could support ourselves by begging alms. . . .

"These views of the Father have long caused me to ponder, and I am decidedly (subject, of course, to holy obedience) of an entirely contrary opinion, for it appears to me that the Society should have, and acquire justly as the Constitutions permit, what is necessary for the support of our Colleges. . . . We are in such a poor and miserable land, that nothing is gained by it [extreme poverty], for the people are so poor, that no matter how poor we may be, it will still appear that we are richer than they."

II

On December 27, 1553, Grã wrote to St. Ignatius notifying him of the safe arrival in Brazil of the Jesuit band under his care. He had not written sooner because no ships had left Bahia prior to that time. He had not seen Nóbrega as yet, for the latter was in the south at São Vicente. Meanwhile he served as rector of the college at Bahia, where he was well liked by Governor da Costa, and was extremely popular among the townspeople.[10] Full of enthusiasm, and impressed by the great opportunities of conversion that presented themselves, he, like his companions, wrote in detail of the scene which unfolded before him. He had only words of praise for the Brazilian climate, water, and abundance of native game and fish. Livestock thrived on the land, and there was plenty of manioc, honey, and rice. He insisted that the land was rich and waiting for settlers, adding that conversion would bear real fruit if there were only enough settlers to first subjugate the great number of natives who were ripe for conversion. Deploring the barbaric customs of the natives, he added that great work was being done among the native children, among whom there was much hope when taken in hand before they had been exposed to the evil customs and habits of their elders. This interesting letter, full of descriptive details of the land and its people, was one of the first of those remarkable Jesuit letters of sixteenth-century Brazil which have become such a rich quarry of information on the early history of the land and the people of Portugal's American empire.

During his first days at Bahia, Grã, besides ministering to the Portuguese inhabitants, visited nearby Indian villages, and soon acquainted himself with the special problems of Indian customs and evangelization in the mission field which was to be his sphere of action for the next fifty-six years.

NCJ, 110, 111, 112, Nóbrega to Father General Laínez, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

Another point on which the two men differed was that of sending Brazilian Jesuits to Paraguay. On this matter Nóbrega finally acceded to the contrary opinion of Grã.

The correspondence of Nóbrega on these matters may be found in NCJ, 62-74, 75-87, 96, 99, 100, 103, 108, 110-112, and Leite, *História,* I, 296-299; II, 473.

These basic problems were difficult ones, and that is why Grã, when he became provincial in 1559, constantly urged the sending of a Jesuit Visitor to Brazil to settle at close range some of the many problems which were so hard to work out on the scene, or through slow moving correspondence between Brazil and Europe; NCJ, 103.

[10] He served as rector of the college at Bahia from 1554 to 1556, and later from 1574 to 1576; Leite, *História,* I, 59, 64.

In his first attempts to preach to the natives, through interpreter, in their native villages, the women withdrew with their children and hid in the woods, and their proud chieftains, in long discourses, and by loud singing, attempted to drown out his religious message. Under the influence of their witch-doctors they said that those who received Christian baptism would die, for some children who had been baptized by the missionaries had died shortly afterwards. The conversion of the native children, which appeared to be the only approach feasible, was rendered doubly difficult because of the great fondness of the natives for their children, whom they would not part with or leave to the care of the missionaries. In his preaching he found that they wished to hear nothing of death and the hereafter, for in their superstitious minds merely to think or dream of death was fatal. These were but a few of the problems presented by native custom and superstition.[11]

Nóbrega, already several years on the scene, was familiar with the problems Grã outlined, and had worked out the tentative plans he felt should be pursued. In view of the small number of Jesuits in Brazil, he hoped to make Bahia and São Vicente the two centers of activity, for they were key centers of settlement, and the gateways to large mission fields. Already he had written Grã of the need of concentrating resources at these two key points.[12] Nóbrega, at São Vicente, had learned of the Spanish subjugation of Paraguay, and dreamed of converting that vast region—a dream to come true many years later, after his time, through the establishment of the famed Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay in the seventeenth century. Nóbrega's interest in distant Paraguay was based on an argument which was to be repeated many times in Brazil and later by other Jesuits in other parts of America: that successful conversion was most likely in regions already subjugated, either by force of arms, or, preferably, as a result of peaceful European settlement. Paraguay, Nóbrega had been informed, was a land in which such favorable conditions already existed, something that could not be said of the barbaric Brazilian coast.[13] Meanwhile, Grã awaited the opportunity to embark for São Vicente to confer with Nóbrega.

---

[11] NCJ, 160-169, Grã to St. Ignatius, Bahia, December 27, 1553.

[12] At the beginning of 1555 there were twenty-six Jesuits in Brazil distributed as follows: 4 at Bahia, 2 at Porto Seguro, 2 at Espírito Santo, 5 at São Vicente, 13 at Piratininga; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 1, no. 192.

[13] NCJ, 58, 60-61, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555; *ibid.,* 68. Nóbrega to Father Miguel de Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557.

Two years passed, and through lack of sea transportation "up to this time the two pillars of the Society in Brazil, Nóbrega and Grã, had not seen each other."[14] Grã, as *colateral,* was residing at Bahia, carrying forward the policies inaugurated there by Nóbrega, awaiting the opportunity to visit the latter at São Vicente. Nóbrega awaited his *colateral* with great anxiety, for he had decided to embark upon a missionary expedition to Paraguay, and wished to confer with Grã on the matter before carrying out the plan.[15] Finally Grã found passage south, but only as far as Espírito Santo, where he was again delayed. While at Espírito Santo he assisted Brother Braz Lourenço, who was residing there with a brother recently received into the Society. Here he found that the enslavement of the Indians by white settlers had caused the natives to remain far in the interior, thus rendering their conversion virtually an impossibility.[16] He deplored this situation, for the region was very fertile, and could well support Indian missions.[17] The future appeared hopeful, however, for gold and precious stones had recently been discovered on an expedition into the interior led by Captain Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, and Grã hoped that this might attract sufficient settlers to subjugate the region, and thus pave the way for conversion.[18] While at Espírito Santo, he witnessed the founding of the Indian *aldeia* of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, near the city.[19] According to Vasconcellos, Grã, through his negotiations with Fernandes Coutinho, the *donatario* of Espírito Santo, was largely responsible for the establishment of the large *aldeia.*[20]

On the very day that Nóbrega had planned to set out for Paraguay, May 15, 1555, he received news that Grã had arrived at São Vicente, and following the advice of the *colateral,* it would seem, the proposed expedition was abandoned.[21] Grã's view was that the Portuguese Jesuits should not extend their efforts into territory under Spanish dominion without specific instructions from Rome. Nóbrega's Paraguayan dream temporarily abandoned, the two Jesuit leaders turned to the reorganization of the various mission establishments in and around São Vicente and São Paulo de Piratininga.[22]

---

[14] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 1, no. 193; CJ III, 80, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555; NCJ, 56, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555.

This is a perfect example of the lack of sea transportation along the coast of early Brazil. (Because of Indian hostility and topography, land transportation along the coast was out of the question.) Thus it may be seen why Nóbrega had early requested a companion with whom he could divide the administration in Brazil, north and south, the urgings which had resulted in the sending of Grã as his *colateral.*

[15] NCJ, 58, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555.

[16] NCJ, 177-178, Grã to Father Mirão (?), Espírito Santo, April 24, 1555.

[17] *Ibid.,* 178.

[18] *Ibid.,* 178.

[19] Grã's letter describes in detail the founding of the *aldeia; ibid.,* 180-181; Leite, *História,* I, 233-234, 363.

[20] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 1, no. 204.

In January 1556 the Jesuit residence at Piratininga, still an inchoate college, was transformed into a perfect college (*collegio formado*), the first in Brazil. Piratininga was chosen for the site, since it was in the heart of the native settlements of the captaincy, and was well situated from the economic standpoint as well. The church and quarters, built of mud and straw, were soon completed, and classes in reading, writing, and Latin were inaugurated. All the movable properties of the Jesuits in the captaincy were centered there.[23] Leaving Grã in charge in the south, on May 3 Nóbrega embarked for Bahia, where he proposed to establish a second college; this, along with other mission problems relating to the Bahia district, he and Grã had fully agreed upon.[24] When Nóbrega left São Vicente it already had become the largest Jesuit missionary center in Brazil. Upon his return to Bahia, he soon consolidated Jesuit activities there and strengthened it as the hub of mission work in the north. Four Indian *aldeias,* each with a resident missionary, were soon flourishing as never before: on the Rio Vermelho, at São Sebastião (later Santiago), at Espírito Santo, and at São João.[25]

At São Vicente, in the south, Grã's zeal and spirit permeated the growing mission work there, already built on such lasting foundations through Nóbrega's efforts. He had able companions, among them José de Anchieta, who showed remarkable ability in mastering the native tongue.[26] The activity of Grã, constantly on the move, was remarkable. Taking up temporary residence at Jeribatiba, an Indian *aldeia* six leagues from Piratininga, where he baptized many, and performed a number of Christian marriages, he scoured the region for souls, attempting especially to reach the children. He made many journeys on foot to distant Indian villages to preach against cannibalism, sometimes hastening to an Indian celebration where cannibalistic rites were about to be performed, and breaking in on the ceremonies just in time to save the life of a victim.[27] Rain or storm, he traveled the mountainous forest trail to Santos and São Vicente, on the coast, to minister to the Portuguese and instruct their slaves. And again, we find him bringing new members into the Society.[28] At Piratininga and at the Indian *aldeias,* Grã introduced for the first time the method of dialogues, with questions and answers, in the native language, in the teaching of Christian doctrine, a method which was applied with great success.[29] The class in cases of conscience which he inaugurated at Piratininga, preceded that of Bahia.

---

[21] *Ibid.,* Liv. 1, no. 199; CJ III, 479-480.

[22] At São Vicente, in 1555, Grã and Nóbrega made their solemn profession of four vows; CJ I, 147.

[23] CJ III, 324-325; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 1, no. 202; Leite, *História,* I, 279, 299. Grã taught a class in cases of conscience to the student Jesuits at Piratininga until 1561, when the college was moved to nearby São Vicente, where a few externs attended classes; CJ III, 325; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 84; Leite, *História,* I, 300. Eventually the central Jesuit college for southern Brazil was established at Rio de Janeiro, by decision of Nóbrega, Grã, and Visitor Azevedo; Leite, *História,* I, 260.

[24] CJ I, 40, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, Piratininga, 1556; *ibid.,* 154-155; *ibid.,* II, 27, 293, note 165. Nóbrega arrived at Bahia on July 30, 1556, *ibid.,* II, 152.

The civil authorities in Portugal had urged the governor and bishop at Bahia in 1553 to order the establishment of a college there, but nothing had been done until the matter could be discussed with Nóbrega, the Jesuit provincial; NCJ, 167, Grã to St. Ignatius, Bahia, December 27, 1553.

[25] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 4.

The unwelcome presence of French Protestants in the vicinity of the future city of Rio de Janeiro made itself felt in the religious life of São Vicente with the appearance of the Frenchman João Boles at São Vicente in 1559. Boles, a clever freethinker, was preaching heretical ideas and ridiculing the Catholic religion. Upon hearing of this, Grã immediately set out from Piratininga to São Vicente, where he soon silenced the intruder. He had Boles seized and sent to Bahia. From Bahia, Bishop Leitão sent him to Portugal, and the last we hear of him he was in India. Thus through the efforts of Grã the spiritual unity of the colony was strengthened.[30] He was later to act in a similar rôle in Pernambuco, in the case of the troublesome ex-priest António de Gouveia.

---

[26] As yet the best linguists among the Jesuits were some of those long resident in the land who had joined the Society in Brazil; NCJ, 73, Nóbrega to Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557.

[27] CJ III, 153, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 87.

[28] CJ III, 90, Trimestral Letter, May-August 1556, Piratininga, written by Anchieta; *ibid.,* 95, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556; *ibid.,* 97, 101, Quadrimestral Letter, September-December 1556, Piratininga, 1557.

[29] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 12.

[30] CJ III, 157-158, 161, 312, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, nos. 66-68.

That Boles was in Brazil in 1567, and that Anchieta was responsible for his execution at that time, as some writers have stated, has been proved by the documents to be unfounded. Cf. J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e Estudos,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, 13-30.

During these years the Jesuits also contributed to the material strengthening of the region, a work in which they were greatly aided through the close cooperation of their friend Governor Mem de Sá. On petition of the Jesuit leaders Nóbrega and Grã, the village of Santo André was transferred to Piratininga in 1560, for economic and defensive reasons; and of equally lasting importance, a new and safer road was opened between São Vicente and Piratininga, a road, long in use since that time, which was a great boon to the region.[31]

III

On December 9, 1559, the second bishop of Brazil, D. Pedro Leitão, had arrived at Bahia. Accompanying him were a group of seven Jesuits, and they had with them letters patent for Grã, who had been appointed provincial to succeed Nóbrega.[32] The appointment was not unexpected, as Nóbrega's health had been failing for some time, and in private correspondence with his Jesuit superiors in Portugal and Rome he had emphasized Grã's qualifications, and had already learned of the appointment.[33] Grã, who was at that time in São Vicente, was now ordered to return to the capital, Bahia, and Nóbrega to take his place in São Vicente.[34] Upon receipt of the patent, Grã called his companions together, and kissing their feet and begging their assistance, he read to them the accompanying letter of exhortation from the Father General.[35] He now returned to Bahia with the governor, who had accompanied Nóbrega on his voyage south, leaving São Vicente in the latter part of June,[36] and reaching Bahia on August 29, 1560.[37]

Grã may not have had the flare for leadership and the initiative of his predecessor, but in his new administrative post he proved equally capable and zealous. An eloquent and tireless preacher, a fine teacher, and a remarkably able missionary, during the next few years he was to contribute much in the work of moral and spiritual uplift and education in Bahia, and in the evangelization of the surrounding Indian *aldeias*.[38] He inaugurated a great era of *aldeia* work around Bahia, characterized by a considerable increase in the number of resident Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Success in this work was to be greatly aided by the complete harmony between church and state, and the unstinting support and cooperation of Bishop Leitão and Governor Mem de Sá.[39]

---

[31] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, nos. 84-85; Leite, *História,* I, 257, 283-284.

[32] Leite, *História,* I, 561-562; CJ III, 345, note 437. Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, nos. 63-64, erroneously gives the number of Jesuits as six.

[33] NCJ, 72-73, Nóbrega to Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557; *ibid.,* 89-91, Nóbrega to Father General Diego Laínez, Bahia, July 30, 1559. The last mentioned letter contains the first reference by Nóbrega to Grã as the new provincial. He humbly assures the Father General that Grã will carry on more prudently than he in all matters.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 69.

[36] CJ III, 165, 175, note 190, Anchieta to Father General Laínez, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

[37] NCJ, 228, note 106; CJ II, 30, 269, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, nos. 89-90.

At Bahia, Grã's tireless energy seemed to be contagious, and soon Jesuit activities there were buzzing with renewed vitality.[40] His immediate aims were threefold: more effective religious instruction of the slaves in Bahia, more intensive study of the native language by the Jesuits in order to facilitate mission work among the natives, and the greater expansion and consolidation of missionary work among the Indians. He arranged with the bishop to have slaves brought to the Jesuit church every afternoon for religious instruction, which had not been done for some time, and he himself instructed them in the native language, with much success. He also visited the houses of the whites in Bahia and in the nearby Villa Velha, winning many to volunteer their fullest cooperation in this work. At the Jesuit house the class study of Anchieta's manuscript grammar of the native language one hour daily was now made obligatory to all, Grã himself, well versed and instructed in the language and more adept than anyone else in explaining the rules, serving as teacher.

---

[38] At the time of his appointment as provincial there were already some forty Jesuits in Brazil, including the brothers and novices, the largest single group working in the south, in the captaincy of São Vicente; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 65.

[39] For a description of the administrations of Leitão (1559-1573) and Mem de Sá (1557-1572), and their close affiliations with the Jesuits, cf. Leite, *História,* II, 150-153, 522-524.

[40] "Father Luiz da Grã, upon his arrival, has virtually set the place ablaze. . . . I expect that he will reap much fruit in this region very shortly. . . . I marvel at his tirelessness in this work," CJ II, 270, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560; "When he arrived here at Bahia conditions were pretty bad, but since his arrival all is calm," *ibid.,* 275, António Pires to *idem,* Bahia, October 22, 1560; "All of the fathers and brothers have received much consolation upon the arrival of Father Luiz da Grã, and both by his good example and his affability all have received inspiration in virtue and devotion, as well as in the fervor and desire to save souls and convert the natives," *ibid.,* 252, João Mello to Gonçalo Vaz, Bahia, September 13, 1560.

Thus Anchieta's grammar of the native Brazilian language, which was not to be published until 1595, was already being used in manuscript as a textbook in 1560. This class was humorously referred to by the fathers as "the Greek class."[41]

Very shortly after his arrival in Bahia, Grã called together the fathers and brothers of the district who were working among the Indians, in order to discuss ways and means of expanding the mission work, and also to obtain information to report to the governor on existing conditions. As a part of the program of expansion of mission work in northern Brazil, Grã hoped to establish Jesuit residences at Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Pernambuco in the near future.[42] He had brought with him from the south four brothers well versed in the native language.[43] The Indian *aldeias* near Bahia, of course, had been visited by the Jesuits since their first arrival in Brazil. But the mission system had not been fully worked out. Upon assuming his post as governor, and in accord with Nóbrega, Mem de Sá had ordered the concentration of the natives in large *aldeias,* fusing the smaller ones, thus establishing four large *aldeias* near Bahia: São Paulo, Espírito Santo, Santiago, and São João. Each *aldeia* was to be administered by uniform local civil and religious governing bodies, modeled more or less on the Portuguese town: a locally appointed Indian mayor with civil and police jurisdiction, and resident Jesuit missionaries to direct the moral, spiritual, and educational life of the people.[44] This was the Jesuit mission system (similar to the one adopted earlier by the Franciscans in New Spain), first attempted in the captaincy of São Vicente, and later adopted elsewhere, which is perhaps most widely known through its successful establishment and elaboration in Paraguay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Needless to say, the famous Paraguay Reductions were not unique, for they had their origins in sixteenth-century Brazil.

---

[41] CJ III, 253-254, 270, 275. (These references are to the same three Jesuits letters just cited in the preceding note.)

[42] CJ II, 269-270, 271, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560.

[43] *Ibid.,* 269.

[44] *Ibid.,* 256-260. A detailed analysis of the beginnings of the Jesuit mission system in Brazil—the best that has been written—may be found in Leite, *História,* II, 3-110. Mem de Sá prepared the way for success around Bahia by effectively pursuing the previously discussed policy of subjugation of the native savages as the preliminary for peaceful conversion: "Sem temor não se podia fazer fruto." As the Brazilian scholar Afrânio Peixoto puts it, "Between the romantic view of the noble savage . . . and extermination, the Germanic method . . . the pragmatic method of Mem de Sá, the Romanic and British policy of force followed by kindness, approved by the Jesuits, and even by Anchieta, appears the just one. Notwithstanding, force has always been repellent to inferior peoples—to all peoples." Peixoto's note, in CJ II, 272, note 149.

The newly appointed provincial had arrived in Bahia from the south in August of 1560. From early October to the end of the year his time was spent almost entirely among the Indians of the surrounding Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Thus intervening personally as apostle to these Indians, by 1562 he had increased the number of Jesuit *aldeias* of the region from four to eleven. Until 1566, when he was called to duties elsewhere, he was continually on the mission trail. His long journeys on foot, and his limitless energy and physical endurance, put his companions to shame, to paraphrase their own humble admission.[45] Grã's labors among the Indians around Bahia constitute one of the most glorious chapters in sixteenth-century Jesuit mission history. The most extensive catechizing in sixteenth-century Brazil originated here, overshadowing for a time even São Vicente, Anchieta's vineyard. The Bahia missions passed through four phases: the period of promising beginnings, from 1556 to 1559; the period of intensive development, from 1560 to 1562; the crushing setback caused by the great famine and epidemic of 1563-1564; and the difficult period of slow reconstruction from 1562 to the end of the century.

IV

Grã began his visitation of the missions by journeying to a small Indian village one league from the city, where a number of the natives had already received Christian baptism and matrimony. After performing a number of baptisms there, he went on to the *aldeia,* or mission, of Espírito Santo, six leagues north of the city, where he was given a gala welcome. As he approached the mission village he was met by the local chiefs, who had gone out to meet him, accompanied by musicians, and followed by the entire populace. They greeted him with the words: "Praised be Jesus Christ!" Arriving on a Friday, on the following Sunday many Christian baptisms and marriage ceremonies were performed.

---

[45] ". . . he is so enduring that very little is left for the rest of us to do; he seems to be tireless; those who know him marvel, for he preaches two hours to the whites, then, on the same day, he preaches to the women, and then to the slaves, spending so much time in this work that he has no time to eat; and frequently he says his beads late into the night: in fine, he puts us all to shame." All this after just returning to the college from a tour of the outlying missions, and attending to a number of purely administrative matters as provincial; CJ II, 276-277, António Pires to the members of the Society in Portugal, October 22, 1560.

From there Grã proceeded along the coast to another Indian village three leagues farther north. The natives here had frequently been visited by the Jesuits, and had been promised a resident missionary. Upon learning of Grã's presence in Bahia they had sent a delegation there to visit him, and to request that the promise be fulfilled. Now he was approaching the village to discuss plans for establishing a Jesuit residence there. For the natives it was a great occasion. When Grã left Espírito Santo he was accompanied by many natives, and with the others who joined him on the way, it was a large concourse that approached the village. He was welcomed in the gala manner in which the Indians had formerly welcomed their witch-doctors. A league from the settlement, across a river which they normally crossed in their small boats, a bridge had been built. At this point an arbor had been prepared, with a hammock for Father Grã to rest in, and refreshments. There an Indian leader stepped forth and greeted the Jesuit provincial with the following words: "You have come; I rejoice upon your coming and am very happy; the roads rejoice, the plants, the branches, the birds, the old women, the young girls, the children, the waters, all rejoice; all love God!"

After the Father Provincial had arrived at the quarters which had been prepared for him and his companions, old and young made their way there to render homage and present him with gifts. The following day he preached to the natives. Asking them if they were pleased with his coming, and desired a resident missionary to teach them Christian doctrine, they all answered in the affirmative. They then were reminded that they must give up their pagan customs and live as Christians, and instructed to set up a post for the punishment of offenders. When the Jesuits left, some of the chiefs accompanied them, in order to receive instructions at the capital for the establishment of local government in their *aldeia,* and for their election of a mayor to enforce the rules enjoined upon them. This village was organized into the Jesuit *aldeia* of Santo António in October of 1560, the first of the seven new *aldeias* soon to be founded under Grã's direction. In the following year it had a population of 2,000 Christianized natives, and had become the central mission for the other surrounding ones of Bom Jesus, São Pedro, and Santo André.

Grã now proceeded to Santiago, the last of the four Jesuit *aldeias,* mentioned above, that had been established under the direction of Mem de Sá and Nóbrega. The Jesuits already had missionaries here, and the Indians had been carefully instructed to receive the sacraments of baptism and matrimony from the Father Provincial; two hundred sixty were baptized and forty-three marriages were performed. Many others wished to receive these sacraments, but he postponed the ceremonies until they could be more carefully instructed, as the others had been. Following the wedding ceremonies, a great banquet was held, after which the newly married couples went to where Grã was seated to present him with gifts and to receive his blessings. Besides the Christian marriages, Grã arranged eleven marriages in *lei de natureza,* thus ending polygamous marriages as a first step toward eventual Christian marriage. From Santiago the provincial returned to Espírito Santo, where a missionary well versed in the native language was stationed—now a priest, he had been one of the first of the orphans sent from Portugal on Nóbrega's suggestion back in 1550.[46] After having visited this group of *aldeias,* Grã returned to Bahia to attend to various administrative and religious duties that awaited him.[47]

Meanwhile, the work on the *aldeias* proceeded with great success. The *aldeia* of São João, on the banks of the Pirajá, toward the hinterland, which had been abandoned by its fickle native population in 1560, was now restored, this time on a more favorable site six leagues from Bahia.[48] Grã designated two missionaries for the new residence, one of them well versed in the native tongue. They left for the *aldeia* on March 15, 1561.[49] Here were gathered the natives of thirteen or fourteen Indian villages; it was to become one of the largest Jesuit *aldeias* near Bahia.

---

[46] Cf. Serafim Leite, "O primeiro embarque de órfaõs para o Brasil," *Páginas de História do Brasil,* São Paulo, 1937, 71-80.

[47] The above account is taken from the letter of Father Pires, who accompanied Grã, cited in footnote 44, above, CJ II, 276-279. Cf. also Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 2, no. 90; Leite, *História,* II, 55.

Among the matters pressing at the capital were the insistent requests being made from Pernambuco for the establishment of a Jesuit residence there. Grã hoped before long to establish residences in all the captaincies. As for Pernambuco, Nóbrega had established a Jesuit residence there in 1551. After two years the residence had been closed due to the need for missionaries elsewhere, for Nóbrega preferred to concentrate upon the strengthening of assured footholds in and around Bahia and the future São Paulo. Grã now reopened the Jesuit residence in Pernambuco, sending three Jesuits who arrived there on January 19, 1561; CJ II, 282, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Pernambuco, April 6, 1561. After several years the residence was again to be abandoned. The unstable character of the Pernambuco residence was not to be ended until 1568, when Grã was sent there under more favorable auspices.

[48] Leite, *História,* II, 52-53.

[49] CJ II, 299, António Blasquez to Father General Laínez, Bahia, September 23, 1561.

Within a few weeks a temporary church had been set up, and one hundred children were being instructed in the school, where Christian doctrine was taught morning and evening by means of the *Dialogue* composed by Grã. Also, evening services were soon being held where one of the Indians best instructed taught the prayers and *Dialogue* to the others. Similar success characterized the work at the other Jesuit *aldeias* and in the neighboring Indian villages which were being brought into the Christian fold. And so it was not long before Grã, even though he had returned to the capital quite ill from his first survey of the *aldeias,* was on the mission trail again in order to perform a number of solemn baptisms and marriage ceremonies.[50] The Lenten season of 1561 was to be long remembered through the famous letter of Father Blasquez, which is one of the principal sources for the following account.

The natives anticipated Grã's Lenten visit, and it was the object of preparations and discussion for months. The magnificent new *aldeia* of São João was the first on the itinerary. Grã was received in a now Christian adaptation of the traditional Indian manner of receiving an important personage. As he approached, the Indian leaders harangued the people, telling them to go out and welcome the provincial. They then went out for over a league to meet him, chanting "We are going to meet our father, who will perfect our lives, and deliver us from the ways of the Devil." Then, upon meeting Grã, first the elders, in gala dress, and then the children, wearing wreaths on their heads, reverently greeted him, with their arms extended upward, saying: "Praised be Jesus Christ!" He gave them his blessing, and they proceeded to the entrance of the *aldeia,* where the young girls and women joined the others, as they led him to the special room which had been prepared for him. Then, Grã and the two resident fathers, all of whom knew the *lingua geral,* examined and confessed those who had been prepared for the sacraments. Solemn religious ceremonies followed, during which he performed one hundred seventy-three baptisms and a dozen marriages. The ceremonies concluded, he left for the *aldeia* of Santo António. After his departure the natives went to the room where he had stayed, and chanted sadly, "Has he gone? Now all is quiet! When he was here all was joyful!" A few days later he was to return to perform more baptisms and marriages, and again the Indians went out to meet him singing in their native tongue:

---

[50] *Ibid.,* 301.

"We are going out to meet Father Luiz da Grã, who, in our behalf, does not fear rain, nor puddles nor bad roads! Rejoice over his coming, for he brings us the good life!" This time one hundred thirteen more were ready for baptism, eleven couples received Christian marriage, and twenty-eight were married in *lei de natureza.* The same sort of reception, and success, were to characterize Grã's visits to the other *aldeias.*[51]

Some two months previously the natives of various Indian villages had been gathered on the site of a recently abandoned Indian village on the island of Itaparica, some five or six leagues from Bahia. It had by now been organized into the Jesuit *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, with its native mayor, appointed under the supervision of the fathers, and a flourishing school. Two fathers and two brothers were in residence there, and the school already had some three hundred students. Now visited by Grã, one hundred seventy-three were baptized in an impressive ceremony; in due time four hundred fifteen were baptized here. On the eve of Holy Week Grã returned to the capital, ill with fever, but concerned only about his work. Besides attending to administrative tasks, he preached at the Jesuit residence and at the See during Lent, and continued his usual social and devotional work. On Holy Thursday, after humbly bathing the feet of his confreres, Grã, though still tired and weak from his many recent journeys on foot, ascended the pulpit and preached with such fervor and eloquence "that the sermon resembled the Passion itself. . . . Some fainted, and others were weeping so loudly that one could scarcely make himself heard. . . ." Immediately after delivering his sermon at the Jesuit church on Easter Sunday, he set out for the *aldeias,* where he was awaited expectantly by the natives who had been prepared by the resident fathers to receive the sacraments, "for the Indians hold him in such affection that they wish only him to baptize and marry them." Since São Paulo was the nearest and oldest of the Jesuit *aldeias* in the vicinity of Bahia, Grã spent Easter Sunday there. After several days there, where he performed many solemn baptisms and marriages, the tireless apostle to the Indians of Bahia visited successively the Jesuit *aldeias* of Santiago, São João, Santo António, and Espírito Santo. The succession of welcomes, and administering of the sacraments, was much the same everywhere. He now returned to Bahia. After resting for several days, he visited the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, where, as usual, there were solemn processions, many baptisms, singing, dancing, and general joy and festivity. Returning to Bahia, the next day he was at Santiago; fifteen days later at Espírito Santo, to personally direct the moving of the *aldeia* to a more healthy nearby site; a few days later he was at São João.[52]

---

[51] *Ibid.,* 304-306.

After spending two months on these visitations, on the eve of Corpus Christi Grã returned to Bahia, gaunt from living only on roots and other native foods, and suffering from frequent attacks of fever. But he was in high spirits, for a group of Indian leaders of Paraguaçu, representing a number of villages that were constantly harassed by slavers, had requested him to organize them into a Jesuit *aldeia,* and he was already planning for the new establishment. Religious articles were donated by the bishop and the governor. With the *aldeia* of Santo António as the base of operations, a good site was selected, and the new Jesuit residence and *aldeia* of Bom Jesus, about fifteen or sixteen leagues from Bahia, was founded in August of 1561. The natives of fifteen Indian villages within a radius of thirty miles were established on the new site.[53] This accomplished, Grã and his companions returned to Bahia by way of Espírito Santo and Santiago, where, with great pomp and ceremony, solemn baptisms and marriages were performed.[54]

About two weeks later, a large number of baptisms were performed at the Jesuit *aldeia* of São Paulo, at which the bishop honored the natives with his presence. It was a big event at the *aldeia,* and also for Grã, who went there several days early to make feverish preparations for the bishop's visit. Blasquez's delightful description of the event is an excellent illustration of Grã's characteristically tireless energy. The program of events had been meticulously prepared by him, and as Blasquez writes, "the Father Provincial was directing the ceremonies, and since he is very well experienced in these matters, his Excellency [the bishop] would indeed have been embarrassed on many occasions had he not been ever present."[55]

On his return to Bahia, Grã was met by an Indian chief who had traveled some twenty-eight leagues by land to request missionaries for his village. With the enthusiastic approval of the bishop and governor, Grã and two Jesuit companions, with the Indian chief serving as guide, set out southward along the coast.

---

[52] *Ibid.,* 306-313.

[53] *Ibid.,* 315-316; Leite, *História,* II, 56.

[54] Blasquez's letter, *op. cit.,* 317.

[55] *Ibid.,* 318-319.

After crossing many rivers, and undergoing much hardship, the village was reached, where the Jesuits were well received. The village was in the captaincy of Ilhéus, beyond the border of that of Bahia. Grã ordered the Indians to move their village to a better site, which he selected for them, told them to send for a missionary as soon as the new church and village were built, and, joyful over "the discovery of the fine gold and riches of souls to be saved," he returned to the capital.[56] On the way back he and his companions passed through many erstwhile hostile Indian villages which were won over by the humility, faith, sincerity, and determination of the provincial. Three localities were selected as likely sites for future Jesuit *aldeias*,[57] each nine or ten leagues apart. Grã was loved by the natives, we are told by nearly every Jesuit contemporary who wrote of his work among the *aldeias*, and his reputation among the Indians had spread over a wide area. The *aldeias* continued to be his first concern, and the months that followed saw him continually on the trail whenever there were natives ready for solemn group baptisms or marriages. Of these, perhaps the most significant was the first large celebration of this kind to be held at the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, on the isle of Itaparica, which took place in September 1561 with the bishop in attendance.[58]

On September 22, 1561, Grã wrote to his superior in Portugal, Father Torres, that the land was so much at peace that it would be difficult to imagine a greater degree of peace and tranquility. He referred to the seven large *aldeias* already established in the vicinity of Bahia, and begged that more missionaries be sent from Portugal to further extend the work of conversion; four more *aldeias* were ready for resident missionaries upon the arrival of additional recruits. "I am seeking every means I can to satisfy the holy starvation of these people in their yearning for the spiritual bread," wrote Grã.[59] He spoke enthusiastically of his recent trip south to Ilhéus, and of the size of the growing *aldeias* already in operation, some with over

---

[56] *Ibid.*, 319-321; CJ II, 323-325, Leonardo do Valle to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 23, 1561; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 104.

[57] CJ II, 326-327, Letter of Leonardo do Valle.

[58] This event is described in great detail in *ibid.*, 328-334, with a vivid portrayal of the splendor of the religious ceremonies, and of the character of the gala costumes, dancing, singing, feasting, and festivities that took place at the native Indian *aldeias* on such occasions.

[59] CJ II, 291, Grã to Father Torres, Bahia, September 22, 1561. Afrânio Peixoto writes that this statement "epitomizes the apostolate of Father Luiz da Grã"; *ibid.*, 294, note 166.

2,000 souls. With the arrival of new recruits, he hoped soon to extend the mission field northward to Pernambuco, and remove the barrier of hostile tribes which blocked land communication between there and Bahia. Deploring the lack of vocations among the externs at the Jesuit college in Bahia, Grã urged the sending of youths who could be trained for the Society in Brazil, where they could grow up among the Indians and learn well the native language, so important in the work of conversion. In stressing the need of more missionaries, Grã further referred to the lack of religious instruction provided the slaves working in the homes of white residents, and the need for greater attention to their religion and morality. He spoke glowingly of the unstinting support of the governor and the bishop in the work of conversion.[60]

The extension of Jesuit missionary activity on the *aldeias* surrounding Bahia proceeded with continued success throughout the closing months of 1561. About six days after his return from the solemn baptismal ceremonies at the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, Grã set out from Bahia to found several new *aldeias,* and to visit the Jesuit residences along the northern coast toward Pernambuco, where more natives were prepared to receive the sacraments of baptism and matrimony. Passing through the Jesuit *aldeias* of Espírito Santo, Santo António, and Bom Jesus, hundreds were baptized by the Father Provincial. At Bom Jesus, on October 12, just two months after the founding of the *aldeia,* the first solemn mass baptism was administered. The entire population of the *aldeia,* over 1,000, gathered in the church for the ceremony. There was tension and excitement, for the rumor had been spread by hostile medicine men that all were being gathered in the church only to be massacred. In the middle of the ceremony all fled from the church in panic. Grã finally persuaded them to return, regained their full confidence, and eight hundred eighty-two were baptized. From here Grã proceeded to an Indian settlement ten leagues from Bom Jesus (twenty-two leagues from Bahia), where, in fulfillment of the previous requests of the natives, a Jesuit *aldeia* was now established with resident missionaries. The reception and festivity which accompanied the founding of this new *aldeia* were similar to those described above in connection with the refounding of São João in March of 1561.

---

[60] *Ibid.,* 292-293. On the payment of tithes by the *aldeia* Indians, to which Grã objected because of their poverty, and which he refers to in the above letter, cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 35, 43.

The new *aldeia,* founded by Grã in November of 1561, was named São Pedro.[61]

Grã visited several other Indian settlements in this region, where he was well received, and where the natives promised to give up concubinage, drunkenness, and cannibalism. Eight leagues from São Pedro lands were cleared by the natives for a proposed *aldeia,* and a church was built in honor of Santo André. On this excursion, Grã penetrated ten leagues farther, into the lands of a group of the most bitter enemies of those recently won over at Santo André. Here he not only persuaded the native leaders to give up their evil practices, such as eating enemy captives, and to build a church, but succeeded in negotiating peace between them and their erstwhile hostile neighbors. Upon his return to Bahia, the provincial was given special thanks by the governor for having made this important contribution not only to the cause of conversion, but to the pacification of the land.[62]

From Bahia Grã now sent resident missionaries for the founding of Nossa Senhora da Assunção, the region some thirty leagues from Bahia, within the captaincy of Ilhéus, which he had previously visited, and São Miguel, ten leagues closer to Bahia. Both of the new Jesuit *aldeias* were large, for not only the coastal Indians of the vicinity, but others from the interior were gathered there. Thus by the end of November these two additional *aldeias* were founded. At Nossa Senhora da Assunção some 4,000 natives were gathered, and at São Miguel over 2,000. And at the first solemn administering of the sacraments at the former *aldeia,* 1,088 were baptized, and one hundred thirty-seven couples were joined in Christian marriage. Some of the other Indian settlements visited, which were eager to be organized into Jesuit *aldeias* for better protection against hostile tribes and white slavers, could only be given hopes for the future for lack of sufficient missionaries. During the closing months of 1561 and the early months of 1562, Grã divided his time between visiting the *aldeias,* where he performed thousands of additional Christian baptisms and marriages, and preaching, hearing confessions, instructing the slaves in the capital, and attending to other matters for the welfare of the natives in and around Bahia. In his crusade against Indian slavery Grã met with some success, through the cooperation of the governor and *ouvidor geral.* His fame had already spread far and wide among the natives as the defender of their freedom, and many whites were constrained to give up slaves they had obtained through unjust traffic. Meanwhile, he worked tirelessly in furthering the many other social, religious, and educational activities of the Jesuit college in Bahia among the Portuguese residents in Bahia proper, and in the neighboring settlements of António de Torres, and the Villa Velha.[63]

---

[61] CJ II, 345-348, Leonardo do Valle to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, June 26, 1562. Father Valle describes in detail the founding of São Pedro, with interesting remarks on the dress of the natives, the native dancing, singing, festivities, etc.

This *aldeia* lasted only a year. A famine caused the dispersion of the natives. Aid was sent them by Governor Mem de Sá, and some Indians returned, establishing themselves there in 1562, where they awaited missionaries that could not be provided for lack of sufficient Jesuit personnel; Leite, *História,* II, 56.

[62] CJ II, 349-351, Letter of Leonardo do Valle, Bahia, June 26, 1562.

Santo André was administered by the Jesuit missionary stationed at São Paulo. By the end of the year there were some 3,000 natives gathered at Santo André; *ibid.,* 355.

Further *aldeia* founding was checked by the lack of sufficient missionaries, and work in the *aldeias* was henceforth primarily that of consolidation. An example of the opportunities for missionary work that lay across the vast hinterland, which was gradually being penetrated by the Jesuits, was the news that Grã's fame had reached the natives of the upper reaches of the São Francisco River. Now the natives of that region wished him to visit them and establish peace between them and their enemies, and thus put an end to their eating one another in tribal vengeance. Grã was enthusiastic, and set out for the interior accompanied by two other Jesuits and a layman, all able linguists. Having traveled northward along the coast for some forty leagues, accompanied by many Indians who were assisting in the enterprise, the party was forced to return to Bahia due to the lack of sufficient food along the route. This expedition, and others like it, was a step forward despite temporary failure, for it helped pave the way for future success.[64]

During the year 1562 Grã continued his periodic visitations to the *aldeias* surrounding Bahia, baptizing and marrying hundreds of natives who were being won from paganism, vice, and cannibalism by the Jesuit missionaries stationed at the various *aldeia* establishments. Meanwhile, he persisted at Pernambuco, where two Jesuits had their hands full ministering to the natives and whites in the city itself and on the surrounding plantations. Tired of awaiting reinforcements from Portugal, and encouraged by the recent ordination of several Jesuits in Brazil, Grã finally sent two fathers to Ilhéus, where a permanent Jesuit residence had long been urged by the Portuguese settlers there. A few months later two others were sent to Porto Seguro, due to the urgings of the people there, despite insufficient missionaries for such widespread dispersion. Grã's expansionist policy, although perhaps not to the liking of his companion Nóbrega, who preferred to concentrate on fewer key points until larger reinforcements were at hand, was bearing fruit nevertheless. But, of course, with the relatively small Jesuit band for such a vast area, many potential mission fields had to wait. Every Jesuit counted, and Grã's concern for each one of his men was a source of constant paternal anxiety, especially whenever the life of one of them was in danger. For example, when Father Luiz Rodrigues, one of the fathers recently sent to Ilhéus, was reported to be dying from a rattlesnake bite, Grã immediately rushed to his aid in person, sending a priest ahead on a swift mount provided by the governor with first aid. After twenty days Father Rodrigues was well again.[65]

---

[63] *Ibid.,* 351-355, 358-359, 362, 366-368.

[64] *Ibid.,* 357.

A great setback to the work of conversion on the *aldeias* was the great smallpox epidemic of 1563-1564, which spared few of the Indian settlements from Ilhéus north to Pernambuco. Lasting for nearly two years, it was soon accompanied by consternation and flight into the forests on the part of many of the natives, and general famine. Only five *aldeias* survived the epidemic and famine: São João, Santo António, Espírito Santo, Santiago, and São Paulo. On the Jesuit *aldeias* that survived as many as a third of the native population perished in the epidemic. The slave population of the Portuguese settlements of the region was also hard hit. The loss of slave labor through flight or death due to the epidemic, gave occasion for white slave owners to use the Jesuits as scapegoats by reviving the charge that the antislavery activities of the Jesuits were detrimental to the economy of the region, since there were many natives still living an idyllic existence on the Jesuit *aldeias,* free from their grasping hands. During the course of the epidemic the Jesuits served as doctors and nurses to the suffering natives, and their college in Bahia was virtually converted into a hospital for their care.[66]

---

[65] CJ II, 374, Luiz Rodrigues to Gonçalo Vaz, Ilhéus, March 11, 1563; *ibid.,* 379-382, Leonardo do Valle to Gonçalo Vaz, Bahia, May 12, 1563.

A general survey of Grã's activities from 1561-1563 may be found in "Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos da Baía," authorship attributed to José de Anchieta; CJ III, 352-357.

In the fall of 1564 there were fifty-two Jesuits in Brazil: 10 fathers and 15 brothers at Bahia, 18 religious in São Vicente and Piratininga, 2 at Espírito Santo, 2 at Porto Seguro, 2 at Pernambuco, and 3 at Ilhéus; CJ II, 34.

Despite the epidemic the work of conversion on the surviving *aldeias* continued without letup; although solemn baptismal and marriage ceremonies were smaller in size. Grã, on foot, was continually on the trail, visiting and revisiting the surrounding *aldeias* in the effort to win back lost ground. The remarkable success he attained on his visitations was reminiscent of the year 1561, when these *aldeias* were at the peak of their development. The mass administration of the sacraments by him to hundreds of natives on the various *aldeias* during the year 1564, following careful preparation by the resident missionaries, is most brilliantly recorded in great detail in Father António Blasquez's classic contemporary relations. His observations and comments show, among other things, that the setback of 1563-1564 was met by Grã with a religious zeal and tenacity of purpose worthy of special mention. Months at a time he was visiting the *aldeias*, and literally hundreds were being baptized and married by him at solemn religious ceremonies amid all the pomp and splendor of the Church. Grã personally prepared, or directed the preparation of, the elaborate pageants and pilgrimages on special feast days and days of special indulgence at the various *aldeias*. Blasquez's letters describing these events have special value for the student of Brazilian and Portuguese folklore, music, popular drama, and life and manners of the period in general, beyond being of inestimable value in recording the story of the Jesuit efforts to preserve the remaining *aldeias* and win new native converts following the recent setback.[67]

Meanwhile, Grã was not neglecting other important social, religious, and educational duties that kept him frequently at the capital (Bahia): the supervision of the construction of new buildings at the Jesuit college, thanks to the generosity of the governor; the fostering of missionary work among the slaves and whites in the Portuguese settlements and on the plantations of northern Brazil; directing the careful training of the Jesuit students and the forty-odd externs at the Jesuit college in Bahia; ministering to the sick and the infirm, along with his companions; personally intervening to settle personal disputes and controversies among white settlers; awaiting the availability of a boat to the captaincy of Pernambuco, which he was anxious to inspect with the purpose of establishing a college there, which many of the residents had been requesting for some time.[68]

---

[66] CJ II, 382-384, Valle to Vaz, Bahia, May 12, 1563; CJ II, 404-406, António Blasquez to the Father General in Portugal, Bahia, May 30, 1564.

[67] *Ibid.*, 406-411; CJ II, 418-426, *id.* to *id.*, Bahia, September 13, 1564.

In addition, during the year 1564, Grã's diplomacy put an end to the complaints of those who claimed that the Jesuits were impeding economic progress through their antislavery program, and the claim that fugitive slaves were receiving shelter in the Jesuit *aldeias.* The upshot in this particular instance was the appointment by Governor Mem de Sá of an honorable citizen as captain and protector of the Indians in each Indian *aldeia.* This system revealed openly the oppressive activities of most of the slave owners, and their unwarranted complaints against the Jesuits.[69] Grã, in his capacity as Jesuit provincial, participated in important conferences with Governor Mem de Sá, Bishop Leitão, and Ouvidor Geral Braz Fragoso, which assembled to interpret and promulgate laws pertaining to Indian rights emanating from the tribunal known as the *Mesa de Consciencia* in Lisbon.[70]

During the years 1565 and 1566 Grã, as usual, in his capacity as Jesuit superior, was constantly on the trail to inspect the progress being made by his confreres throughout the northern half of Brazil; while Nóbrega was taking care of things in the south. Now he was visiting the coastal residences at Porto Seguro or Ilhéus, hoping soon to establish a school in the latter town; now he was making the rounds of the *aldeias,* in routine inspection, to strengthen and consolidate those which had survived famine and disease, to administer the sacraments, to arrange the celebration of a particular feast day, for Holy Week services, and the like.[71] Tireless in his zeal to save souls, he was to be found without fail wherever his religious duties called him. His continual journeys on foot appear almost incredible, and were the constant cause of admiration on the part of his fellow religious. He was truly the apostle of northern Brazil.

V

It will be recalled that Grã long had been requesting of his superiors in Europe that a Visitor be sent to Brazil. Since the arrival of Nóbrega and Grã in Brazil the first General Congregation of the Society of Jesus had met and new orders and regulations in line with general experiences and policies had evolved. Because of special problems arising in Brazil, it was desirable to send someone with authority to help the local Jesuit superiors solve problems difficult, and in some cases virtually impossible, to settle by long-distance overseas correspondence. Thus Father Inácio de Azevedo was sent by the Father General St. Francis Borgia as first Visitor to the province. It was a turning point in the development of Jesuit work in Brazil; as one Jesuit wrote, "the time of tearful planting" was passing, and "the time of joyfully gathering the harvest" was at hand.[72]

---

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 3, no. 41.

[71] Cf. CJ II, 435-442, António Blasquez to the Father Provincial of Portugal, Bahia, May 9, 1565; *ibid.,* 467, Jorge Rodrigues to the members of the Society in Portugal, Ilhéus, August 21, 1565; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 3, no. 88.

Azevedo arrived at Bahia on August 24, 1566, where he was met by the Father Provincial, Grã, at the Jesuit college. There he found thirty religious, and classes in reading, writing, Christian doctrine for children, and Latin and cases of conscience. There were a priest and a brother stationed at each of five flourishing *aldeias* surrounding the city. There were also two Jesuits at Pernambuco, three at Ilhéus, and two at Porto Seguro. After several weeks of conferences and inspection trips in and around Bahia, in October or November the Visitor, accompanied by Grã, set out for the visitation of the captaincies and to confer with Nóbrega. Slowly making their way down the coast, the party reached São Vicente during Lent of 1567. Here Azevedo spent several months settling matters with Grã and Nóbrega. At São Vicente there were twelve Jesuits, and classes in reading, writing, doctrine, and Latin. There were six more Jesuits at Piratininga, from which several fine *aldeias* were administered. In July, Azevedo, accompanied by Grã, Nóbrega, Anchieta, and others, took passage to Rio de Janeiro, where they were present during the attack of Governor Mem de Sá against the ill-fated French attempt to gain a foothold there. Returning to Piratininga, Azevedo, Grã, and Nóbrega concluded plans for the establishment of the principal college for the southern captaincy at Rio, for the founding of which the king had granted an endowment for the support of fifty Jesuits there. Nóbrega was selected to be its first rector. From Piratininga the party returned to Rio to select a site for the future college. Then Azevedo and Grã bade goodby to Nóbrega and Anchieta, the two pillars of the Society in the south, and returned to Bahia, stopping on the way at Espírito Santo, Porto Seguro, and Ilhéus. They reached Bahia in March of 1568.

---

[72] CJ II, 17.

Since the Visitor was unable to go to Pernambuco, abandoned by the Jesuits the year previous, Grã was assigned to make the visitation at the earliest possible opportunity and to reopen a residence there. Grã carried out this mission in July, leaving four Jesuits there. After having carried forward important work of reorganization, the Visitor, filled with enthusiasm, embarked for Portugal on August 28, 1568. Azevedo did not tarry long in Portugal, and in 1570 he was on his way back to Brazil with thirty-nine companions, only to die with them in a mass martyrdom at sea at the hands of French pirates. The work in Brazil went on unhampered, but the seriousness of this blow at such an important moment in the development of Jesuit activities in Brazil can hardly be overestimated.[73]

VI

In 1571, no longer provincial, Grã was sent to Pernambuco to investigate the charges of heresy being made against the Jesuit Father Amaro Gonçalves, whom he had left there in 1568, by the notorious exiled ex-priest António de Gouveia. This Gouveia was a clever adventurer who served widely in many a foreign legion, and was known to be immoral, epileptic, and without moral scruples. Frequently before the Inquisition, he always managed to escape into the hinterland, and had a credulous following who looked upon him as a sort of magician and necromanser. At this particular time his mouthings were causing considerable local scandal. Grã succeeded in completely discrediting and bringing about the expulsion of this social menace of Pernambuco. Returning to Bahia, in July of the following year Grã was again in Pernambuco, this time as companion to the new provincial, Inácio Tolosa, on his visitation of the northern captaincy. After several months, in October 1572, Grã and his superior were back in Bahia.[74]

Prior to 1568 Jesuit activities at Pernambuco were precarious for lack of sufficient missionaries to permit continuous residence. When Grã reopened the temporarily abandoned residence that year a new Jesuit era dawned in Pernambuco. A school for children was now permanently established. Until 1572 the residence had been supported by the college at Bahia, and alms from the local residents. In the latter year Grã went from door to door begging alms for its support. Gradually the residence grew. By 1574 there were ten Jesuits in Pernambuco, including the brothers. The college had one hundred two students: seventy in the elementary classes, and thirty-two in the humanities. In the year 1576 King Sebastião endowed the college, thus assuring its permanency, the third royally endowed Jesuit college of Brazil. This was a momentous occasion in the academic history of colonial Brazil.

---

[73] CJ II, 481-482, Letter of Balthazar Fernandes, Piratininga, December 5, 1567; *ibid.,* 490, Carta Anua, Bahia, January 16, 1568; Peixoto's notes in *ibid.,* 488, note 234, and 497, note 244; Vasconcellos, *Chronica,* Liv. 3, nos. 91, 93, 113, 116, 123; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio de la capitania de Pernanbuco [sic]," *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional,* Rio de Janeiro, XIX (1897), 14.

[74] Leite, *História,* I, 108, 464, 480-484; II, 7, 27, 30, 53-58, 110, 273-276, 298; CJ III, 51, note 4. Grã served for a time as coadjutor of Bishop António Barreiros in administering the Holy Office of the Inquisition, CJ III, 310; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio," *loc. cit.,* 14-15, 19-20.

Grã was appointed the first rector of the newly endowed college, and in 1577, after serving two years as rector of the college of Bahia for the second time, he returned there to spend the remaining years of his life. He served as rector of the college at Pernambuco from 1577 to 1589, and has been described as "the most able rector at Pernambuco in the XVIth century." His constructive work there was remarkable. From the point of view of indebtedness, the college was better off than those of Bahia and Rio, due in part to the generosity of the Portuguese residents of the rich captaincy. Under Grã's administration the college grew from an elementary school to one which offered advanced courses in arts and theology. A number of secular priests as well as Jesuits received their preliminary training there. In the eighteenth century it came to be known as the Real Colégio de Olinda. Meanwhile, by the 1590's the church attached to the Jesuit residence came to be described as one of the most beautiful in all Brazil. Lasting work was finally being realized by the Jesuits in Pernambuco: a college and church; literary, dramatic, and school activities; the organization of religious confraternities; more regular visits to the surrounding plantations; moral betterment; organized defense of the moral rights of the Indian and Negro slaves; spiritual unity; mission building. By the 1590's there were two Jesuits residing at each of four Indian *aldeias,* and four others were visited from the college at Pernambuco. The cycle of instability of the Jesuit residence at Pernambuco ended with Grã's work, and from then on it was not to be closed until the eighteenth century. The historian Leite has referred to him as "the great apostle" of Pernambuco.[75]

---

[75] Leite, *História,* I, 452-497; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio," *loc. cit.,* 9-54; Cardim, *Tratados,* 292-293.

VII

The immensity of Brazil seems small when viewed in the perspective of Grã's numerous and distant missionary journeys. There was no place in Brazil where Jesuits had trod which was not familiar ground to him, from Piratininga to Paraíba. He accompanied Visitor Azevedo on his visitation of the province in the years 1567-1568. In 1573, because of his familiarity with the problems of the land, he was chosen to accompany the provincial in his visitation of the captaincies of Pernambuco, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, and São Vicente. He almost lost his life in a shipwreck off Espírito Santo. In 1575 the provincial Inácio Tolosa sent him to Rio Real with Brother Francisco Pinto, "because he is very experienced in the conversion of the Indians, and is known and loved by all."[76] One of the ancients of the province in years of service, Grã was among Visitor Gouveia's most respected advisers during the latter's famous visitation of 1584-1589. Grã accompanied the Visitor on his trips throughout the captaincy of Pernambuco, and journeyed with him to Bahia in the fall of 1584. Returning to Pernambuco, he was called back to Bahia by the Visitor to participate in the settling of provincial matters there in October of 1585.[77] As late as 1593, at the age of seventy, traveling on foot, "like a youth of twenty years," he made the visitation of Paraíba for the provincial Father Beliarte.[78]

Grã was one of the most noble figures of sixteenth-century Brazil. He fostered the strict observance of the Constitutions of the Society. His most notable work was among the native Indians of the Jesuit *aldeias* of Bahia and Pernambuco. The most extensive catechizing of the Indians in sixteenth-century Brazil originated on the Jesuit *aldeias* surrounding Bahia during the period of Grã's activities there. He was a zealous defender of Indian liberty, and a firm opponent of slavery.[79] He promoted the study of the Tupi language, and was one of the active leaders in the movement toward the scientific study and general adaptation and use of the *lingua geral* among the native tribes.[80] Well-trained in civil law, arts, and theology, and of broad cultural interests, he was not only an apostle to the Indians, and an example of poverty, humility, and temperance, but was one of the most cultured members of the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century. Grã's as yet unpublished official correspondence constitutes a mine of basic general information on the Brazilian scene, the Jesuit *aldeias,* and aboriginal customs and acculturation.[81]

---

[76] CJ III, 51, note 4; Leite, *História,* I, 222, II, 473.

[77] Cardim, *Tratados,* 296, 297, 318.

[78] Leite, *História,* II, 473.

[79] *Ibid.,* II, 197, 198, 200, 202, 243-244, 283, 302, 321, 335, 347-349, 353, 356, 388.

[80] *Ibid.,* II, 557, 560, 564, 587, 590.

Perhaps lacking the energy and administrative capacity of Nóbrega, and the brilliance of Anchieta, he stood midway between them, prudent and balanced.[82] He was loved and respected by all, especially by the people of Pernambuco, where he spent his last years. They went to him with all their problems, spiritual and temporal, and he was always ready to assist them. Visitor Gouveia paints a charming picture of the venerable old gentleman, by then becoming too old and infirm for active administrative work, in a letter from Pernambuco, written during his visit there in 1584:

> The Father Rector, although now quite old, is still full of energy, and is a tireless worker. He never has drunk wine, which is a rarity in these parts. He sleeps little at night, lying on his bed in his clothes; he preaches frequently and well. Everyone loves and respects him. . . . He is humble, affable, prudent, solid and exemplary.[83]

A beloved ancient of the province, he died at the College of Pernambuco, on November 16, 1609, at the age of eighty-six, after an apostolate of fifty-six years in Brazil[84]—one of the memorable Jesuit pioneer leaders of sixteenth-century Brazil: "Nóbrega, the founder and leader . . . Anchieta, the saint and man of letters . . . Grã, the example of poverty."[85]

J. Manuel Espinosa

Institute of Jesuit History

---

[81] Three Grã letters are printed in NCJ, 160-169, 177-185, and part of another in CJ II, 291-293. Others are quoted or cited in Leite's *História,* I-II, *passim.*

[82] *Ibid.,* II, 474.

[83] *Ibid.,* II, 475; cf. also Cardim, *Tratados,* 294.

[84] Leite, *História,* II, 475. Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados,* 355, note 56, following Franco, 241, gives the date of Grã's death as May 5, 1613.

[85] Leite, *História,* II, 504. Franco, Vasconcellos, and all the other early Jesuit writers attest to Grã's asceticism and poverty. According to Franco, 242: "In his dress he displayed extreme poverty, for in the early days the poverty of the fathers who founded that province was great; Father Grã went barefoot until the governor, D. Duarte, gave him a pair of shoes; . . . always he displayed the same poverty. In his last years he was granted permission to return to the kingdom, where he would have greater comforts and care. He refused this favor, preferring to die among his Brazilian Indians, where the venerable and saintly old man spent his last days. The venerable Fr. Pedro da Costa, while in prayer, saw his soul ascend to heaven."

Gilbert J. Garraghan: In Memoriam

Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., died in his room in the Faculty Building of Loyola University, Chicago, at five minutes past ten in the evening of June 6, 1942. He was active to the very last moments of his life. A half hour before his passing he approved of a photograph of himself which was to be used for publicity purposes. Shortly after this he was at the telephone making arrangements for his departure for Cleveland where he was to deliver the sermon lying prepared on his desk. He stopped as was his custom for a prayer in the domestic chapel before going to his room. Within a few minutes of ten o'clock he stepped into the corridor to request a doctor. Two priests making him comfortable in his chair attended him in his dying moments, administering the last sacraments of the Church. He was buried June 10 from St. Ignatius Church in the Jesuit plot of All Saints Cemetery, Desplaines.

Father Garraghan was born in Chicago, August 14, 1871. His elementary education was given in the Foster School, 1878-1882. For the next three years he attended St. Ignatius High School. He followed this secondary training with four years, 1885-1889, in St. Ignatius College, receiving his A. B. degree. On September 1, 1890, he became a novice in the Society of Jesus and made his novitiate at Florissant, Missouri, 1890-1892, thereafter taking his vows in religion. After one year in the juniorate he spent three years, 1893-1896, studying philosophy in the scholasticate of St. Louis University, St. Louis. From the fall of 1896 to the spring of 1901 he taught in St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, Ohio. After this magisterium he returned to the St. Louis University School of Divinity for the years 1901-1905, being ordained priest in June 1904. His finishing period as a religious was undergone in the tertianship at Florissant, Missouri, 1905-1906.

As a priest and professor he lectured first for one year at The Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, and then became instructor of the young Jesuits at the Florissant juniorate from 1907 to 1911. He was then appointed socius or assistant to the provincials of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, which office he held from 1911 to 1921, and 1927 to 1928. Residing chiefly at St. Louis University during these years he had opportunities for historical studies and research, and thus was able to attain to the doctorate in history in 1919. His earlier years had been devoted especially to English literature. His years 1921-1925 were given to research and writing; some months of 1924-1925 were spent in the Roman archives. With the exception of the scholastic year 1927-1928, he was attached to the Graduate School of St. Louis University from 1925 to 1932, serving as head of the History Department in the last named year. In 1929 he was elected editor of MID-AMERICA by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, a position held through 1934. He came to Loyola University, Chicago, in 1932, where he was assigned to research. The following year he again went to Rome to complete his monumental work on the Jesuits in the central part of North America. He returned to Loyola in October 1935 and to his death was professor of history in research, associated with the Institute of Jesuit History.

Father Garraghan is known for numerous contributions to history. It is impossible at the moment to tabulate his many articles in historical magazines and encyclopedias or to list his affiliations with learned societies. His books are: *Newman's Literature* (ed.), 1912; *Prose Types in Newman,* 1916; *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City,* 1919; *Catholic Church in Chicago,* 1921; *St. Ferdinand, Story of an Ancient Parish,* 1923; *Chapters in Frontier History,* 1934; *Marquette, Ardent Missionary, Daring Explorer,* 1937; *Jesuits of the Middle United States,* three volumes, 1938.

Notes and Comment

A Spiritual Conquest—The Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, 1610-1767, is the title of a very suggestive symposium published by the students of Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan, 1942. The brochure, containing 73 pages, double columns, evaluates the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay as an evidence to show that "whenever Christian principles have been honestly applied to the life of a people they have worked to the advantage of the individual and the community." The volume contains 28 well-documented essays organized under the following parts: Missionary Labors in Hispanic America; The Jesuit Reductions, Ideal States?; The Land and the People of Old Paraguay; The Christian Way of Life; The Destruction of the Reductions; The Evaluation of the Reductions. A selective bibliography containing 256 items—which, incidentally, is up to date, a welcome sign to the critical reader—concludes the study.

Madeline W. Nichols' recent study entitled *The Gaucho—Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance,* Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, Series I, Vol. 7, Washington, D. C., 1942, pp. 152, is the first comprehensive bibliography of the rôle of the Gaucho in Argentine history and literature. It contains 1,431 items, and is as up to date as was humanly possible considering the fact that a bibliography of Argentine literature on the Gaucho to be up to the minute would require continuous monthly supplements. The work is more than a bibliography, for Miss Nichols' sixty-page Introduction is divided into eight chapters: 1. Who was the Gaucho?; 2. How a Gaucho Lived; 3. The Pastoral Society in Which a Gaucho Lived; 4. The Vaquería; 5. Contraband Traders; 6. Gaucho Frontiersmen; 7. The Gaucho in War; 8. The Gaucho of Romance. These constitute the best summary of the rôle of the Gaucho in Argentine life and literature thus far published. It is a work of fundamental importance to the student of Argentine history and literature.

Attention is called to Harvey L. Johnson's fine study of the Jesuit theater in sixteenth-century New Spain entitled *An Edition of 'Triunfo de los Santos,' With a Consideration of Jesuit School Plays in Mexico before 1650,* Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romance Languages and Literature, XXI, Philadelphia, 1941, pp. 179.

The well-known Brazilian scholars Afrânio Peixoto, Rodolfo Garcia, and Osvaldo Braga, have enriched the series of publications of the Brazilian Academy of Letters with their excellent critical edition of José Basilio da Gama's *O Uraguai,* Rio de Janeiro, 1941.

Book Reviews

The Coming of the Civil War. By Avery Craven. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1942. Pp. ix, 491.

The first and last paragraphs of this book recount the story of the North Carolina soldier at Appomattox who "passed judgment on a generation" by drawling "Damn me if I ever love another country." With this story, and with an emphatic prefatory denial of "pro-Southern" bias, Professor Craven approaches the coming of the Civil War from the Southern angle. His materials have been drawn from Southern manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets, and monographs. The nature of the materials, rather than any intent of the author, gives the book a Southern viewpoint.

Professor Craven's story begins with a description of American sections in 1830, and an exposition of the Southern way of life. He discusses the Southern agricultural depression of 1800 to 1832, evaluates slavery as a labor system and the Negro as a social problem, and describes the extension of the cotton kingdom in the Southwest. He finds only sectional rivalry until the Abolitionists, adding a moral and a democratic appeal to the forces of sectional rivalry, launched an emotional attack on the South. "To the normal strength of sectional ignorance and distrust they added all the forces of Calvinist morality and American democracy, and thereby surrounded every Northern interest and contention with holy sanction and reduced all opposition to abject depravity." Thus attacked, the Southerners took to their pens to defend slavery, and politicians molded new political appeals from the controversy. Calhoun identified expansion and the protection of slavery, and began to build a Southern bloc. Counter-effort came from David Wilmot, whose "Proviso became the symbol of Northern interests in conflict with the interests of the South." The new alignment produced the Crisis of 1850, and the Compromise was accepted because the issues "were still largely political rather than moral, and because sectional symbols and stereotypes were not completed. . . . Until 'Black Republicanism' had made its appearance, Southern common folk could not wholeheartedly believe that the North wanted to reduce their section to dependence and social ruin. Until Uncle Tom, Bleeding Kansas, 'Bully' Brooks, Dred Scott, and John Brown had done their work, the emotional force necessary to complete the distortions was not present."

During the fifties, Southern nationalists worked to build self-consciousness and economic self-sufficiency in the South. At the beginning Conservatives of the Northeast and of the South were willing to accept the Compromise and return to peace. But the Northwest was not quiet.

Already restless over tariffs, lands, internal improvements, and finance, the region reacted violently against the fugitive slave law, and even more violently to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. "Out of this tangle and mixture of economic, political, and moral discontent . . . came the new attitudes toward the South and slavery which were to give rise to the Republican Party and the struggle for Kansas." The new emotions erected frontier squabbles in Kansas into a crusade for freedom, and made a saint of John Brown. The Republican Party capitalized on the emotions, and the Democratic split gave them a victory over the Conservative elements in the nation. The distortions and the accumulated hatreds of the years brought open battle.

Perhaps this account is not quite so revolutionary or sensational as the publisher's jacket blurb claims. It is, however, the first successful effort to evaluate the emotional content of the era of sectional controversy. Professor Craven has a felicitous pen, and an aptness in quotation. Both the student and the general reader will find his book stimulating and interesting.

W. B. Hesseltine

University of Wisconsin

The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1942. Pp. xiv, 364. Illustrated.

This is a collection of eight essays on aspects of the civilization of the Old South. The word "collection" is not used to indicate that they have been published before, but that they are related only insofar as they are all on the same broad subject; any one could stand separate republication. The author discusses the geographical distribution of the many cultures which went to make up the not-so-solid—south, the intellectual life of the tobaccoland aristocracy, colonial architecture from Virginia to Georgia, the migration from salt estuaries up to the tablelands above the falls, the arts and handicrafts of the Old South, and the use and abuse of the fat rich soil. A critical evaluation of a book which speaks in tones of authority on population problems, the history of ideas, and the fine arts from ploughing to architectural design, is probably beyond the competence of any one reviewer. So this admirer of Professor Wertenbaker will be content to "notice" his conclusions.

These conclusions are as follows. (1) The Old South was not solid, but was a "melting pot" as other sections were. (2) The Southern cavalier is the protagonist of a pious legend. No nobles came to those warm fertile lands, but the soil and the system of land tenure produced an untitled nobility, the members of which discovered rare coats-of-arms hanging on their family trees and promptly forgot the inconvenient majority of lower class ancestors. (3) Despite the common concept of the semiliterate huntin' an' shootin' aristocrat, Jefferson, Washington, and Madison were not freaks, not a contrast to their class, but were "outstanding examples of the educated, cultured, widely read wealthy class, whose interests varied from statecraft to astronomy, from music to philosophy, from medicine to gardening" (p. 70). (4) The Old South was the place where the only original contribution to the fine arts was made by American colonials: architecture. (5) The chapter on the clash of Tuckahoe (tidewater people) and Cohee (European immigrants from Pennsylvania southwards) concludes that this was the first instance of a merger of fresh European cultural patterns and established American patterns; that it was a test laboratory of American civilization. (6) A survey of the neglected arts and crafts of the Old South leads the author to conclude that the artisan class was important in the structure of society and that its later disappearance was a blow to an economically unsound aristocracy, which needed a bit more of democracy to survive in this country. (7) The system of land tenure was the chief cause of the Southern aristocracy; the custom of vast grants allowed one in fifty to reach the brilliant apex of an unsound society.

This book is a good cure for those who have fed too much on the textbooks which make the Old South out to be a relatively homogeneous unit. Fifty-six well-chosen illustrations (most from the Historic Building Survey and from Williamsburg) well illustrate the text and the author's taste. There are minor flaws, such as the use of "grog" to indicate a seventeenth-century drink, the misspelling of the name of the Merchant Taylor's School (p. 24), and so on, but nothing is apparent to this reporter which would change the doctrines advanced by Professor Wertenbaker. Lovers of the romantic legend of the ante bellum South will find some of his remarks a little astringent, but astringents may be good for thin skins.

Marshall Smelser

St. Louis University

Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III. Edited by Charles Wilson Hackett. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1941. Pp. xxii, 623.

This volume continues the work to which Professor Hackett has devoted his energies for more than a decade. In form it reproduces the excellences of the two preceding volumes. The same editorial style is continued in the ample cross references, the large and useful index, the bibliography identifying most of the printed citations of Pichardo.

The argument of the volume aims to substantiate the line drawn by D'Anville in 1746 as the boundary properly separating Louisiana from Texas. After a long digression on the De Soto route west of the Mississippi, the author takes up the expeditions of La Salle and of the later Frenchmen who explored and settled in the "Plains of Quivira."

He devotes much time to "proving" the injustice of the incursions of both French and American intruders, and he furnishes some pertinent contemporary discussions of geographical and political principles.

The merit of this work for the historian of today lies in the abundant and often unpublished documentation that Pichardo copies bodily in his text. It is a kind of 1812 Hakluyt of Spanish and French travels in Lower Louisiana. As a statement in politics, aside from a good survey of the origin and development of the doctrine of natural boundaries built upon the treatise of Pierre Marca in the 1640's, the argument seems to be that a few settlements or black lines on the map entitled Spain to claim exclusive ownership of most of North America until the forebearance of her kings allowed France to retain part of the Mississippi Valley. The discussion, however, illustrates the story behind the Adams-Onis Treaty, as a report for the fact-finding commission.

From the standpoint of historical composition, the work of Pichardo does not appear to merit the eulogy of the editor (III, xxii): "it would be superfluous to attempt to indicate in this brief introduction the contributions—fundamental and conclusive—which he (Pichardo) makes in the above-cited pages to the history of the 'territory that the French took on the plains of Cíbola.' These conclusions of the erudite cleric will—if they have not already done so—stand the test of time and historical investigation." For his day, Pichardo was certainly quite critical in sifting and appraising his materials, but he is outdated on almost every page. To trace the route of De Soto he relied on Garcilaso de la Vega and Herrera, and he buried the conqueror at the mouth of the Red River! In this connection it might have been a timely gesture for Hackett to include the 1939 Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, no matter how imperfectly their work was done. The narratives of French colonial travels in the Mississippi Valley, and the careful work done on them by scholars such as Delanglez, show that much is desired in the work both of the author and of the editor. And when one reads the dictum of Pichardo (I, 423): "I have not the least proof for this last statement, but I am firmly convinced that it is true," he feels disinclined to extend too large a bill of credit to the science of 1812. Finally, it was Pichardo who put Ponce de León "deep in the heart of Texas!"

The old gentleman, a Jesuit until the suppression of that order, and afterward an Oratorian, was eighty years of age when he finished his treatise. The work is surely a tribute to his wide learning and his remarkable vitality, as it is likewise an honor to the state of knowledge in the Mexico of that date. But he labored under immense difficulties in this strictly geographical problem. He himself cited (I, 316) the note of C. F. Cassini, that "the smallest error concerning the longitude of Mexico, which is that found on Father Alzate's map, is still until the present time 2° 44′ "; and on the following page he continued: "But if there is still such discrepancy concerning the longitude of Mexico, what will it be with regard to all the other less important places?"

The editor offers copious annotations in identification of localities and personages. There are a few slips in cross notation. No enlightenment is offered to one who would like to know the depository of documents cited solely by numbers. Other qualities of the footnotes have received comment in earlier reviews in learned journals. The work is straightforward from start to finish, and it undoubtedly makes a valuable supplement for the study of colonial Louisiana and Texas.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University, Chicago

Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest, 1805-1879. By Peter Leo Johnson, D. D. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1942. Pp. iii-viii, 297.

In his *Stuffed Saddlebags,* the Reverend Peter Leo Johnson has presented a well-rounded picture of the Reverend Martin Kundig, pioneer priest in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. As background for Father Kundig's early life, the author has described not only the family life of the Kundigs, which was characterized by true piety, but also the political conditions in their native Switzerland, when the Swiss Catholics were engaged in the defense of local and religious liberty against the revolutionary party.

After a Roman interlude, during which the young student was a member of the Papal Guard, the scene of his life labor was settled by a call to work in the American mission field. With him on his voyage to the United States was Reverend John Martin Henni, destined to become the first Catholic bishop of Milwaukee. Fathers Henni and Kundig had been fellow students at Lucerne and in Rome, and, after nearly forty years work together in the Milwaukee diocese, they were to celebrate their golden jubilee in the year 1879.

Father Kundig's earliest American activities were in Cincinnati, where he worked among the German Catholics. In 1833 Detroit was made a diocese, and Father Résé, appointed bishop, selected Father Kundig for service in the new diocese. During the period spent in Michigan, Father Kundig carried on many activities in addition to his pastoral duties. He was choirmaster in several churches and organized the St. Cecilian Society. A Sunday school for Catholics was also organized and day schools were started. Another of his activities was the encouragement of temperance societies. He officiated as superintendent of the poor in Wayne County, planned a hospital and an orphanage, of which latter he was manager.

Father Kundig's selfless devotion to cholera victims during the epidemic of that scourge in Detroit in 1832, recalls to mind St. Charles

Borromeo's work among the sufferers from the plague in Milan several centuries earlier. With no thought of danger to himself, the priest cared for the sick, the dying, and the dead. From house to house he went with an improvised ambulance, collected the sick and bore them to the hospital quarters.

For Midwest readers the story of Father Kundig's activities in the Milwaukee diocese, set up in 1843, is of peculiar interest. Much of his time was spent in traveling through the diocese, building and organizing churches and schools. On foot, on horseback, by cart or sled, in all kinds of weather, he covered the ground. The recital of his visits may well be called a roll call of the early Catholic churches in southern Wisconsin.

The reader of *Stuffed Saddlebags* will finish the book with a conception of Father Martin Kundig as a high-minded and faithful priest with a keen interest in every phase of the lives of his people: as a builder of churches and schools; as a laborer with the sick and the poor; as a musician, who fostered music in the Church; as a founder of a Catholic weekly paper, *Die Columbia;* as a citizen interested in civic as well as moral betterment. Above all, he was actuated by a strong faith.

The book has many bibliographical footnotes and a comprehensive index.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico. By J. Manuel Espinosa. Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1942. Pp. 410. Maps.

Here at last is the book which gives us the complete story of the reconquest of New Mexico; and few scholars are better equipped than Dr. Espinosa to deal with the subject. His mastery of the documents of the period and his familiarity with the geography of Upper New Mexico well attest this fact.

Dr. Espinosa provides a setting for his narrative in a twenty-four page "Prologue" which summarizes the history of New Mexico before the arrival of Vargas. A few pages suffice to give the reader the facts of the little known early life of the Reconqueror. Dr. Espinosa then proceeds to relate in great detail the subsequent career of Vargas. Four chapters deal with the preliminary phase of the reconquest in the fall of 1692. Nine chapters are concerned with the final recovery and settlement of Upper New Mexico, from late 1693 through the harrowing days of the revolt of 1696. The remaining three chapters are given over to general Indian affairs, to Vargas' notable quarrel with the Santa Fé *cabildo* and Governor Cubero, and to the date and circumstances attending the death of the Reconqueror. The "Epilogue" rounds out the story by highlighting the significant developments of the eighteenth century. Five maps help the reader keep his bearings, while the bibliography is evidence of the thoroughness of the work.

In short, there is much to praise and little to condemn in Dr. Espinosa's book. Some may feel that the author stands too close to the protagonist, never lets Vargas out of his sight, and thereby has his vision somewhat marred. One feels that the supporting cast merited more generous treatment. Editorial slips are rare. "Sobaipujares" (p. 39) may refer to the Sobaípuris, and "as follows" (p. 105, n. 47) should not be italicized. Elsewhere the book shows extreme care in preparation. Dr. Espinosa writes with grace, although not always with the greatest of simplicity. But these are all minor criticisms. Scholars will recognize in the book an important contribution to the literature of the Southwest.

Russell C. Ewing

University of Arizona

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1942

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 24, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1942

OCTOBER 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

THOMÉ DE SOUSA, FIRST GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRAZIL, 1549-1553 . . . . *Ruth Lapham Butler* 229

FERNAO CARDIM, JESUIT HUMANIST OF COLONIAL BRAZIL . . . . *J. Manuel Espinosa* 252

THE PADRE OF THE MAGIC SHOES . . *Peter Masten Dunne* 272

BOOK REVIEWS 286

FINNIE, *Canada Moves North;* NEF, *The United States and Civilization;* McDERMOTT, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1856;* ROY, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941.*

INDEX 293

MANAGING EDITOR
JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1942

VOLUME 24 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 13 NUMBER 4

Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil, 1549-1553

By the middle of the sixteenth century Brazil had passed through the first two phases of its early history, but had not yet proven itself an advantage to Portugal as a colonial possession. Although the organization of Mexico and Peru was still far from perfect they were both yielding their treasure, gold and silver, to Spain. Portugal was finding no such natural resources in her New World territory,[1] but continued the search sporadically. Her monarchs had been fully occupied with crusades in Africa and with attempts to salvage something from the former prosperous commercial enterprise in India and the Far East.[2] Yet Portugal did not wish to lose the territory to the west of the Atlantic, especially since the Normans and Bretons seemed to be obtaining products favorable for commercial profit in North American waters, and adventurers from Dieppe and Honfleur on the Brazilian coast; nor did she wish to give up competition with the Spaniards in the western hemisphere and the possibility of finding precious metals which might equal their discoveries.

In 1526 King Manuel sent Cristóvão Jacques to Brazil with instructions to rout out the interlopers and seek out the natural riches of the land. This expedition was a preliminary step toward colonization, for he cleared the Brazilian littoral of foreign corsairs, made a number of exploring expeditions, and founded trading posts, precarious and poorly defended, but which constituted nuclei of small Portuguese frontier settlements. Upon his return to Portugal, Jacques petitioned King John III for a *donatario,* or feudal grant, promising to take a large colony to Brazil to assure its possession for Portugal. His plan was to extend to America the feudal system which had been successfully applied in Madeira and the Azores. The celebrated scholar Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, who had served as regent of the College of Santa Barbara in Paris, and who, while in France, as intermediary for his government, had defended Portuguese interests against French interlopers for many years, advocated with enthusiasm the plan to colonize Brazil. His insistent urgings finally led King John III to organize a full-fledged colonizing expedition.[3] The undertaking was entrusted to Martim Affonso de Sousa. Martim Affonso, although only thirty years of age, already had gained an outstanding reputation in the development of Portuguese India, and was well fitted for the venture. On December 3, 1530, Martim Affonso set out for Brazil with a small fleet carrying over four hundred colonists—"the embryo of Brazilian society." After exploring virtually the entire Brazilian coastline, he made a permanent settlement at São Vicente. At this site on an island in the present Bay of Santos he may be said to have given, in 1531, a foothold in the New World to Portugal. The newcomers brought cattle, sugar cane, and implements to insure their livelihood.

---

[1] Since the publication of Robert Southey's *History of Brazil,* London, 1810, there has been no detailed study of the early history of this country in the English language. MID-AMERICA has recently published several articles on the history of the last half of the sixteenth century and the work of the Jesuits there. This short study of Thomé de Sousa, first governor general, attempts to present some of the secular aspects of the same period. Subsequent studies will take up the governorships of Duarte da Costa and Mem de Sá.

[2] In 1500, Cabral's squadron, in spite of the loss of a large part of it, paid more than double the cost of the expedition in its cargo of precious stones, spices, and porcelain. A ship from India could carry a cargo seven times as valuable as one from Brazil. R. C. Simonsen, *História económica do Brasil, 1500-1820,* 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1937, I, 83-84.

The story of this nucleus of frontiersmen building a jungle outpost in the far-flung colonial empire of Portugal among a forbidding and cannibalistic people is full of interest, no less for the manner in which the settlers conquered the land than for the way in which the land and its inhabitants gradually overcame the morale of the settlers.

In a letter of September 28, 1532, directed to Martim Affonso, John III notified him of his plan to set up in Brazil the *capitania* system which Dr. Gouveia had so long advocated. The plan of captaincies in Madeira and the Azores had succeeded and it was believed that the system could be adapted to the needs of Brazil.

---

[3] Luiz Norton, "A Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil (1500-1550)," *Revista de História de América,* No. 2 (April 1941), 23-24; Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 2 volumes (thus far), 1939-1941, I, 112-115, 124-125. Gouveia also urged the sending of religious in order to assure the moral stability of the colony, and it was the Jesuits, some of whom he had taught at the College of Santa Barbara in Paris, including St. Ignatius, whom he later recommended especially to King John III. Cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 13-14.

The system was inaugurated in March of 1534, after the return of Martim Affonso to Portugal.[4] The captaincies,[5] established as a means of organizing and improving the Brazilian holdings without expense to the Crown, were feudal grants, the grantees being known as *donatarios,* similar to the proprietory colonies established by the English on the Atlantic coast of North America many years later. They were not without lasting importance, for they set the pattern for the future administrative division of the land. From the immediate point of view of colonization, however, the captaincy system was to prove a complete failure within ten years. Each *donatario* was potentate in a private domain in which he hoped to acquire great wealth and in this expectation he sometimes risked all.[6] Since mines yielding precious metals or stones had not yet been discovered, the basis of settlement was agricultural; sugar was the natural product. The profitable trade in brazilwood, a monopoly of the Crown, timber, birds, and other exotic products could be expected to continue.[7]

Brief notes on the *donatarios* who tried to establish colonies between 1534 and 1549 show what happened. One of the most successful *donatarios* was Duarte Coelho, recipient of the first captaincy grant, who came in 1535 and took possession of Pernambuco. He brought his family with him and an adequate number of colonists and settled permanently. He conquered or made alliances with native tribes and altogether conducted his affairs so well that in two years his capital, Olinda, was a city of prosperous men. He would have been able to survive creditably without assistance from the king if his captaincy had not been harassed by the Spanish and French along the coast. Because of this he needed the strength of a centralized government, for the captaincy faced the danger of being cut off from communication with the mother country.[8]

---

[4] Norton, "A Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil," 33-34; J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as Capitanias do Norte do Brasil, 1530-1630,* 2 volumes (thus far), São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 24; Calmon; *História do Brasil,* I, 152.

[5] For detailed studies of the captaincies, cf. the monographs by Jordão de Freitas, Paulo Merêa, Pedro Azevedo, C. Malheiro Dias, and Oliveira Lima in *História da Colonização portuguesa do Brasil,* 3 volumes, Pôrto, 1924, III, 97-320.

[6] Each *donatario* had to fit out his own fleet, collect his own group of colonists and artisans, and take materials for his establishment, in fact, cover every expense. The majority of the *donatarios* had a sincere desire to effect colonization. For this many sold all that they owned in Portugal, some borrowed the necessary capital. Some of the *donatarios* were subsidized by Portuguese or Dutch capital. Simonson, I, 130; Pedro Calmon, in R. Levine, ed., *História de América,* 14 volumes, Buenos Aires, 1940-1942, IV, 17.

In referring to the captaincies as feudal grants it is, of course, understood that they were feudal in form only, for they were established in the pattern of the new capitalistic economy, and had been set up in the political, social, and economic interests of the national government. Cf. Almeida Prado, I, 31.

[7] Madeira and the Azores were sugar-producing colonies. On the basis of a document of 1526, in all probability as early as 1521 a colonist Pero Capico planted sugar cane in Pernambuco. The introduction of sugar is, however, usually dated later and credited to Martim Affonso de Sousa. Cf. Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 111.

Brazilwood, the dye wood from which purple and red dyes are made, represented five per cent of the total receipts of the treasury during the reign of John III. Simonsen, I, 91. Other possible products of Brazil were balsam, coffee, cacao, tea, vanilla, cloves, cinnamon, manioc, rice, cotton, oranges, lemons, and dates.

The captaincy of Porto Seguro was granted to Pero do Campo Tourinho, who managed to establish mills and send quantities of sugar to Portugal, but his enterprise was frustrated by disquiet within the colony and he was forced to appeal to the king for aid and protection. Jorge de Figueiredo Correia, *escrivão da fazenda* (Secretary of the Treasury), accepted the grant of Ilhéus, but because of his office was unable to take possession in person. He sent Francisco Romero, who, after many struggles with the Indians was able to establish a colony. Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, *donatario* of Espírito Santo, sank all of the profits which he had acquired in the India trade and managed to survive until the establishment of the central government. Paraiba do Sul failed because its *donatario,* Pero de Góes, had insufficient means to carry out his plans and successfully oppose the natives. He abandoned his captaincy, but, for the love of Brazil, returned as an official under Thomé de Sousa. João de Barros, the historian, and Fernando Alvares de Andrade, member of the royal *fazenda,* acquired the grants of Maranhão, Itamarca, and Rio Grande. Since neither could leave his office in Portugal, they delegated Aires da Cunha to make the settlements. Under him they sent an expedition of nine hundred men in ten ships, but the ships were wrecked and practically all were lost. Antonio Cardoso de Barros, the king's *factor* among the officials sent under Thomé de Sousa, had attempted earlier to settle Ceará, but soon abandoned it and was satisfied to become an officer of the king in Portugal and later join the expedition of 1549. Bahia, the place to be chosen for the seat of the centralized government under the governor general, was the abandoned captaincy of Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who after a struggle with the Tupinambas and mistreatment by his own colonists, took refuge in Porto Seguro. Later trying to return to Bahia, he was shipwrecked and his body was devoured by Indians. The captaincies which survived until the middle of the sixteenth century were, therefore, Pernambuco, Bahia, Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, and São Vicente.

---

[8] Duarte Coelho was the discoverer of Indo-China. He conducted his grant as an important business, sending to Spain and Portugal for experienced men when he needed them. Because of his success, he was particularly favored by the king and allowed to retain his independence from the governor general. Calmon, in *História de América,* IV, 17; *id., História do Brasil,* I, 153.

In spite of all the investment in Brazil between 1530 and 1548, there was not one real success. Decentralization, which naturally developed with this system, far surpassed that of the North American colonies in the next century. These Brazilian captaincies were little more than hereditary fiefs; the captains had unlimited powers of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal; boundaries were indefinite; distances were exceedingly great. Even at such an early period, social problems created difficulties in the captaincies: Negro slavery was introduced for the more profitable production of sugar,[9] peaceful Indians necessarily became a part of the settlement, with all the problems of primitive labor and life. Covetousness, constant warfare with the natives who were not completely assimilated, coupled with a complete lack of understanding of these primitive peoples produced a state near anarchy.

Even if external conditions had been more favorable, strife between the strong and the weak provinces would have been inevitable. The infiltration of convicts sent from Portugal had its inherent evils; the encroachments of the Spanish and the French, smuggling expeditions and pirates, all assisted in undermining and in several cases in destroying the captaincies. There were so many obstacles against the unifying of Brazil from within that appeals for aid were directed to the Crown.

Reports from Brazil intimated that the whole colony might even be lost if measures were not taken for its protection. Duarte Coelho, who was unquestionably the most successful of the captains, complained to the king that they were obliged "to conquer inch by inch" the lands granted to them.[10] And Pero do Campo Tourinho, captain of Porto Seguro, wrote on June 28, 1546, that war would depopulate the neighboring captaincy of Bahia if the king did not send aid and make administrative reforms. Francisco Pereira Coutinho, the captain of Bahia, was captured and held in bondage; he escaped and later in an attempt to return to his captaincy was shipwrecked. As for Campo Tourinho, he was deprived of his lands by the chief inhabitants. The full powers exercised by the captains, often mercilessly, reaped their reward in insubordination and rebellion. Letters from two other captaincies, Santos and São Paulo, also reached the Crown, beseeching aid against the natives, and against the French and Spanish aggressors.[11] John III resolved to retain Brazil for Portugal. The threat of losing it was real enough; for there were many persons who had returned from the colony with full information concerning conditions there. Something drastic had to be done.

---

[9] According to Varnhagen, the natural fertility of the soil in Brazil was such that it produced crops equal to other countries if the colonists and the Indians worked from five until eight in the morning and five until six-thirty in the afternoon. The customs changed with the arrival of the sugar lords. Only the Negro could stand the full-time work, hence the immediate growth of Negro slavery, with all of its evils. This, however, did not stop the capture of natives and their enslavement, but they proved unable to stand the hard labor of the sugar fields. Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* third edition, São Paulo, 1927, I, chapter XIV. The price of slaves strained the resources of colonists who had not much ready money. A Negro in Brazil cost from twenty to thirty pesos. Calmon, in *História de América,* IV, 17.

The king's first procedure was to revoke the powers of the captains, allowing them to retain their land grants but placing all civil and military authority in a governor general who would be responsible to him alone.[12] This governor was himself to be a *donatario,* in the territory of Bahia, as well as intermediary between the Crown and the other captains. Casting about in search of a good man for the new office, the king's choice was Thomé de Sousa, "captain in the wars of Africa and India," now destined to become one of America's great pioneer colonial governors.

The date of Thomé de Sousa's birth is uncertain, but it was definitely within the first decade of the sixteenth century. His father was João de Sousa, prior of the monastery of Rates, his mother, Mecía Rodriguez de Faria. Thus he was grandson of Pedro de Sousa de Seabra, and cousin of Martim Affonso de Sousa and Lope de Sousa, whose names are so intimately linked with the history of Brazil. Another cousin, the Conde de Castanheira, one of the Ministers of the Royal Treasury, was his patron.[13]

---

[10] Letter quoted by Simonsen, I, 130. Southey, *History of Brazil,* Part the First, gives, in great detail, the difficulties with the Indians. Though his ethnology may not be scientific, the accounts are taken from eye-witnesses for the most part. For the period after 1549, however, the accounts of the natives given in the Jesuit letters, *Cartas Jesuíticas,* 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933, etc., are better.

[11] Letters quoted in *Colonização,* I, 334-335.

[12] Fernando Alvares de Andrade, who had charge of the affairs of Brazil, prepared to send an armed ship in 1547, in response to the appeals for help. By the advice of Pero de Góes, then at Court, the creation of a central power which would reorganize as well as defend the colony was deemed preferable. Varnhagen, I, 288.

Sousa spent his early youth at the Royal Court under the protection of his cousins, who enjoyed the friendship of the future King John III. Whether because of the status of his father, his lack of opportunities for education, or by personal preference, Thomé decided to follow a military career and went as a young man to serve as a soldier in Morocco. His feats in Africa, where he served under João Coutinho and with Antonio da Silveira, were sufficiently noticeable to be mentioned several times in the *Anais de Arzila.*[14] According to all accounts he was courageous but inclined to be high-handed and quarrelsome, hence he soon returned home to undertake more important things. In March of 1534, he left Portugal with his cousin, Pero Lopes de Sousa for Cafim on a caravel loaded with wood. John III, who by this time had become king of Portugal, was greatly pleased with the activities of the two cousins who found in India not only glory, which had been the only reward of the African adventures, but also profit.

In the *fazenda* records of 1535, there is notice of Thomé de Sousa sailing on March 8 in a fleet of seven ships under Perez d'Andrade, as captain of the *Conceição Gallega,* and returning in March of 1537. Again on March 24, 1539, he sailed as captain of the *São Paulo.*[15] He apparently engaged in India trade and carried on important negotiations for the king's service. So successful was he that the viceroy of India, João de Castro, requested the king to send Sousa as aid to him, and the Conde de Castanheira wrote to Martim Affonso de Sousa concerning him "he is ever displaying more good qualities, possessing above all discretion."[16] The combination of Sousa's kinships and friendships and the success of his service in Africa and India established his position at home. In 1538 he married Maria da Costa and soon gave up public life. For the next ten years he devoted himself to his own affairs, and managed to amass a fortune by acquiring various annuities and patronages. He also became a fidalgo of the Casa Real. Of the marriage there was one daughter, Helena de Sousa.[17]

---

[13] *Colonização,* III, 328-330; in *Revista de hist.,* Lisbon, año III, 1914, 68-81, 137-158, año IV, 1915, 64-76, 354-361, "Documentos para a história de Brasil—Thomé de Sousa e sua familia," edited by Pedro de Azevedo, author of the monograph in *Colonização;* Varnhagen, I, 312.

[14] Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila, crónica inédita do século XVI,* David Lopes, ed., 2 volumes, Lisbon, 1919, II, 66, 85. Also quoted in *Colonização,* III, 330.

[15] *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda e real patrimonio,* edited by Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, Lisbon, 1859, 156, 158.

[16] Varnhagen, I, 292. João de Castro was governor of India from 1545 to 1550. Falcão, *op. cit.,* 191.

The royal appointment as governor of Brazil put an end to Thomé de Sousa's private enterprises. The date of the appointment was January 7, 1549, but the instructions, the *Regimento,* drawn up by the Conde de Castanheira, was of December 17, 1548.[18] This document shows considerable knowledge of Brazil on the part of Castanheira and infinite pains were taken in drawing up the details for the foundation of the new government. Varnhagen speaks of it as a model of administrative adroitness, and Leite calls it the veritable Magna Carta of Brazil and the first constitution.[19] In general it prescribed the means whereby Brazil might be administered for the service of God, for that of the king, and for the ennoblement of the captaincies and their peoples. Every rule for the conduct of the office in this particular land was prescribed and nothing was too slight to be mentioned although details were often left to the judgment of the governor. For this period of Brazilian history the document is not only comprehensive but basic. A brief summary, article by article, digested from the complete text, follows.

Royal Instructions to Thomé de Sousa[20]

1. Sousa is to build a fortified center from which to safeguard and govern the people of Brazil, protect the King's interests throughout the Colony, convert the natives and promote the Faith. Bahia is recommended as the most suitable location because of its climate, harbor, and rivers. The fleet sent by the Crown is bringing engineers, artisans, arms, munitions and all other necessities. Sousa is to be captain of Bahia and Governor General over all the other captaincies. The king expresses his great confidence in Sousa's fidelity and ability.

---

[17] *Colonização,* III, 331. There are many records extant concerning the daughter, her marriage, the provision made for her by her father, etc. Sousa also had two natural sons whom he tried to put into service in India.

[18] Letter of appointment is printed in *Documentos historicos,* Rio de Janeiro, 1937, XXXVII, 3-6. The full text of the *Regimento* is printed in *Revista trimensal do Instituto historico e geographico Brazileiro,* Rio de Janeiro, 1898, LXI, 39-57, also in *Colonização,* III, 345-353. A paraphrase appeared in the *Revista trimensal do Instituto geographico e historico da Bahia,* Bahia, 1895, no. 3, 31 ff.

[19] Varnhagen, I, 292; Serafim Leite, *História de Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 2 volumes, Lisbon, 1938, II, 140-141.

[20] Regimento de Tomé de Sousa (17 de Dezembro de 1548). The original is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Arquivo da Marinha, liv. 1 de Oficios, de 1597 a 1607, fl. 1. The text from which this synopsis has been made is published *in extenso* in original spelling in *Colonização,* III, 345-350.

2. Sousa is commissioned as Master Captain of the Fleet and is to sail directly to the Bay of All Saints.

3. Upon arrival he is to take control of Francisco Pereira Coutinho's stronghold and of all the King's vassals who remain of the original captaincy of Bahia. Arrangements have been made to secure the good will of the people so they will not resist his disembarkation, and if others resist him and his colony he must wage war against them.

4. It is ordered that Coutinho's fortress shall be repaired and another one built near it, properly defended by trenches and palisades, where the people and their provisions will be protected against any enemy.

5. Upon his arrival Sousa is to proclaim and make known by every means possible, his authority over all the captains and captaincies of the coast of Brazil. The King has ordered the captains to lend him all possible aid, both of labor and materials. Persons already holding lands in Bahia are to be instructed to come and reside in the Bahia de Todos los Santos and to assist in the new enterprise, or else forfeit their lands which will then be granted to others.

6. Since in the said land of Bahia, there are five or six thousand Tupinambas who have many warriors and arms to aid him, Sousa is directed to favor them if they are peaceably disposed. But if they are hostile as in the time of Coutinho, he is to punish them relentlessly, destroying their villages, and taking as many captives as possible, whom he will later pardon if they seek reconciliation. In subjection, they will be valuable vassals, paying tribute in their products.

7. Sousa is to do everything possible to win the friendship of the Tupiniquins who are enemies of the natives of Bahia. He is to secure their aid when he needs it, but not to trust them too far, and after establishing himself to settle them in a place where they will be content, but he should prevent all support they might give to rebellious chieftains.

8. As the location of Coutinho's fortress is unsuitable, Sousa is to choose a more protected site within the bay, one not only with a good climate and water supply, but also one where ships can be safely anchored or beached. The new fortress is to be built of stones and mortar by the artisans brought by the fleet, and to be of sufficient size to serve as a refuge for the people in time of danger. After the transfer to the new fortress a garrison is to be kept in the old fortress.

9. The settlement is, in general, to extend six leagues in every direction, but the details are left to the discretion of the Governor who is to decide on the boundaries and mark them permanently.

10. When safely established Sousa is to give the lands, not already granted, within these boundaries, to those who ask for them. These persons will be obliged, however, to take possession and make improvements within a time limit to be set by Sousa. Although the

grantees will not be required to pay rents they must pay a tithe to the Order of Christ and to conform to the statute laws of the Kingdom covering land grants. Moreover within the time limit set by Sousa, the grantees may not sell or alienate these lands. Nor shall anyone receive more land than he can reasonably be expected to cultivate. As for grants already made, and for grants to be made to future settlers the same general conditions shall prevail. If after due notice the present absentee holders fail to come to take possession and cultivate their lands they shall forfeit them, and the land shall be granted to later settlers.

11. Water rights for sugar mills are to be granted rent free but on condition that the mills be erected within a set period, that they be equipped as local strongholds for the settlers, and that they shall not be sold or alienated during a three year period.

12. Persons owning sugar mills must operate them for at least six months of every year, for the benefit of other settlers within the area. The Governor is to take all measures necessary to protect the cane growers from the mill owners.

13. Persons formerly holding lands or water rights within Bahia may reestablish their title by conforming to the above mentioned regulations.

14. The Governor is to inform himself concerning lands and water-rights in the other captaincies as far as the Sao Francisco River and to secure the establishment of mills there by making such grants and prescribing such conditions as may seem to him most conducive to their actual settlement and the King's service.

15. The King orders that for a period of five years no new land grants on water fronts in Bahia be made to persons in the other captaincies unless they are already proprietors in Bahia.

16. For royal service in the colony the Governor is to have galleys built, equipped and armed at the cost of the Crown, and to provide suitable ports for them.

17. As the natives living along the coast from the town of São Jorge to Bahia (in the captaincy of Jorge de Figueiredo) are Tupinambas and hostile to the Christians, they are to be expelled so that their territory can be settled and occupied by the peaceful Tupiniquins, who offer to aid in expelling them. Accordingly Sousa, with the aid of the local captain, superintendent of the royal exchequer and such others as seem suitable, will undertake to expel these natives when in his opinion the time is ripe to do so successfully.

18. Sousa is to establish peaceful relations with the natives of Peraaçuy and Totuapara, and elsewhere to insure the safety of the Christians, and he is to punish such natives as deserve it.

19. As soon as matters are settled in Bahia the Governor is to visit the other captaincies, leaving in charge at Bahia a responsible person with full instructions and authority during his absence. The

first Captaincy to be visited should be Espirito Santo where Vasco Fernandez Coutinho needs assistance in establishing peace. Here Sousa is to remain as long as is necessary.

20. In visiting the captaincies Sousa is to be accompanied by the *provedor môr de fazenda* and by the local *ouvidor* and such other officials and important colonists as would be done in his own captaincy. In his survey Sousa is to order the erection of fortifications where they are not provided, to prescribe conditions under which lands and water rights are to be granted, and to promote the building of sugar mills with due protection. The same principles are to be observed as in Bahia, no transfer of title for a period of three years, and compulsory occupation and improvements to establish title.

21. Market days are to be established in the settlements one day a week, or oftener, if it seems necessary, where the natives can bring their wares to buy, sell, and barter. The Christians are not to visit native villages for trade except those within their own grant or sugar plantation. But if the Governor considers it desirable he will confine the right of local trade with the natives to a single agent within the area.

22. For Christians to trade with the natives on days other than these appointed for the market they must obtain a special license from their captain or one of his officers.

23. No one is to trade in the interior except by license from the Governor or in his absence of the *provedor môr de fazenda* or local captain. This license shall be granted only when good cause is shown and when it seems to be conducive to the welfare of the colony, and persons who move from one captaincy to another shall not receive it. Infractors of this regulation, whatever their social status, shall be whipped and pay a fine of two cruzados.[21]

24. As the king's chief motive in colonizing Brazil is to promote the conversion of the natives to Christianity, the Governor is to do everything possible, and to require all those under him to do likewise, to achieve this purpose.

25. In cooperation with the other officials the Governor is to fix the prices at which local merchandise can be sold, exchanged or bartered.

26. The *provedor môr de fazenda* Antonio Cardoso de Barros, will accompany the Governor on his inspections of the captaincies and the two together will confirm the status of all present local officials and appoint new ones where it is necessary.

27. They are also to inspect the financial system, determine what rents and fees are due to the king, and how they are collected and transmitted.

---

[21] Here and in every later regulation where a fine is imposed it is provided that half shall go to the ransom of captives and half to the informer.

28. Certain ship owners of Brazil are waging private war against the natives and enslaving those whom they capture. Henceforth raids without license are forbidden under penalty of execution of the guilty person and confiscation of his whole estate, nor shall licenses for raids of this kind be given except to trustworthy persons in time of need.

29. Waterborne commerce between the captaincies shall be strictly regulated under control of the fiscal offices of both the point of departure and that of destination.

30. Private shipbuilding in any of the captaincies shall be under special license and must conform to detailed prescriptions. Only galleys can be constructed but a subsidy, ranging from eighteen to forty cruzados according to the size of the vessel is to be granted from the Brazilian funds toward their cost.

31. When necessary, galleys may be built by the captaincies at royal expense, and the artillery necessary to arm them will be furnished from the royal stores.

32. Arms or tools which might be used as arms shall not be given to the natives of Brazil, by any person or under any conditions under penalty of death and total forfeiture. All judges must make special inquiry into the enforcement of this prohibition when they hold their assizes. Small pocket knives and ordinary scissors are alone excepted.

33. Every stronghold and settlement is to maintain a necessary equipment of arms and ammunition. Each settler shall be required to have at least a crossbow, a musket, a sword, and a pike or lance. In case anyone fails to provide himself with these weapons within a year he shall pay a fine equal to the value of what he lacks.

34. The *provedor môr* when inspecting the captaincies shall enquire into the matter and impose the penalties prescribed for failure to provide these arms, and in each captaincy the local officers shall do the same. And where it seems proper or necessary the required arms may be purchased from the Royal Arsenals at a fair price.

35. Trade in brazil wood shall be a royal monopoly. The Governor is therefore to regulate, with the *provedor môr* and local officials, future trade in this wood according to the first royal licenses, prescribing in particular the prices of the trade goods that are used in barter for it.

36. Travel from one captaincy to another shall be strictly regulated by special license. The travel passes shall be given only to reputable persons, for a specific time and a sufficient cause. Upon arrival at his destination the traveller shall surrender his pass to local officials. The penalty for travel without such a pass will be a fine of fifty cruzados. No convict can receive such a pass for he must always remain in the captaincy to which he had been first transported.

37. To prevent privateering the Governor shall proceed at once, in person, or by deputy, to any place where corsairs are reported, and proceed vigorously against them.

38. Armed galleys shall be stationed in the waters which are frequented by corsairs, and the Governor will at his discretion take whatever measures he deems necessary to build, equip, and maintain these armed galleys at royal cost. He will likewise do all he can to secure the cooperation of the captains against the corsairs.

39. The Governor is to require all captains to report to him at once if corsairs appear on their coasts, with all details which will aid him to take proper measures against them.

40. As soon as he is settled at Bahia the Governor will send exploring parties up the rivers into the interior, and report what they find immediately to the King.

41. The Governor is to comply to all these regulations and have the officials comply with them.[22]

42. If any of the convicts render a notable service at sea or after their arrival in Brazil the Governor may rehabilitate them for further service either in courts of Justice or in the administration of the colony. But this grace may not be extended to any convict who is transported for the crime of theft or forgery.

43. If any other person performs a notable service of any kind the Governor may at his discretion enroll him in one of the Military Orders giving at the same time a certificate of the time and circumstances under which this is done.

44. The Governor may also, at his discretion, authorize the payment in advance of any salaries or wages. Furthermore he is authorized to make special gifts where they are merited, not to exceed the sum of one hundred cruzados a year.

45. Although in these regulations the Governor is required to make war against the natives under certain circumstances, and to inflict punishment upon the guilty, he will give due regard to the limited intelligence of these people; their ignorance may mitigate their guilt, or perchance they may have repented. Accordingly it would promote the king's service if when they perceive their faults and seek pardon, the Governor shall accord it freely and thus facilitate the King's chief desire, their conversion to our Holy Faith.

46. After his arrival at Bahia, the Governor will proclaim and enforce the royal prohibition against the wearing of brocade and silk and other luxuries, as it is enforced in all the other domains of the King.

47. To avoid difficulties the Governor will make arrangements so the natives who are converted to Christianity will not have to live among those who are still pagans, but near the Christians, in order that they and especially their children, can be instructed in our Holy

---

[22] The original instructions evidently ended here for the document is signed Jeronimo Correa, Allmeirim, December 17, 1548. But seven paragraphs are added.

Faith. He will also require that the other captains make similar arrangements.

48. When occasions arise for which provision is not made in these regulations the Governor will take council with his officers and with other persons experienced in these matters. But if there is a difference of opinion among them he will be guided by his own judgment and they will be bound to accept his pronouncements. In such cases, however, he must report immediately all the circumstances to the King for confirmation of his actions.

We shall see how Thomé de Sousa succeeded in carrying out his specific instructions.

Officials appointed to go with the governor were: Pero Borges,[23] *ouvidor geral,* who was in charge of administration of justice, criminal and civil; *provedor môr de fazenda,* or king's factor, who was to take care of the royal revenues, Antonio Cardoso de Barros,[24] former *donatario* of Ceará; *capitão môr da costa,*[25] the official charged with maritime defense, Pero de Góes, the disappointed *donatario* of Paraiba do Sul; *provedor da fazenda,* in charge of the records of revenue, Francisco Mendes da Costa; *escrivão da provedoria, alfandega e defuntos,* clerk of customs' house, Antonio dos Reys; *thesoureiro das rendas,* treasurer, Pedro Ferreira; *escrivão dos contos,* clerk of accounts, Miguel Moniz; *almoxarife dos mantimentos,* receiver of maintenance, Christóvão de Aguiar; *vigario da igreja matriz,* vicar of the parish church, Manuel Lourenço; *boticario,* apothecary, Diogo de Castro; *maestre das obras da fortaleza,* or chief engineer and architect, Luis Dias,[26] who was afterwards succeeded by Lopo Machado; *mestre de fazer cal,* master lime burner, Miguel Martins; *mestre pedreiro,* master mason, Diogo Peres. Altogether there were over a thousand persons of whom three hundred twenty were in the king's pay and four hundred were *degredados.*[27] Among the passengers, there were engineers, masons, carpenters and other artisans and, of greatest importance, as it later proved, six members of the new Jesuit Order, headed by Manuel da Nóbrega. His companions were Leonardo Nunes, António Pires, João de Azpilcueta Navarro, all priests, and two Brothers, Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome.[28]

---

[23] Pero Borges had already gained considerable experience in Europe and as corregidor in Algarve, later in Elvas, he won the reputation of being a very just man. He was granted final word in criminal cases. After going to Brazil, he apparently developed into a tyrant of the worst sort. *Colonização,* III, 335-336.

[24] Antonio Cardoso de Barros abandoned his captaincy in Brazil to take office under the Crown. He was a person of some wealth and considerable influence. He remained in Brazil after the end of Sousa's incumbency and became a deadly enemy of the second governor, Duarte da Costa. He met his death in shipwreck on the way back to Portugal to make representations against da Costa at Court. The text of his instructions are in *Colonização,* III, 350-353.

[25] In 1548 there were about sixteen settlements on the litoral of Brazil which exported sugar, brazilwood, tobacco, and other products. Simonsen, I, 132. Factories established on the coasts of Africa and Asia were cared for by a special organization which strongly emphasized defensive measures. In Brazil the value and possibility of commerce did not justify an outlay for such protection. *Ibid.,* I, 120-121.

[26] Luis Dias supervised the building of the city of Salvador and made the plans for fortresses on the sugar plantations throughout Brazil. There is a text of a letter printed by him in 1551, giving some of the interesting details, in *Colonização,* III, 362-363.

On February 1, 1549, Sousa sailed with the largest fleet which had yet gone to Brazil. There were three larger ships, the *Conceição,* commanded by Thomé de Sousa and on board this ship Nóbrega traveled, the *Salvador,* commanded by Antonio Cardoso de Barros, *provedor môr de fazenda,* and the third the *Ajuda* by Duarte de Lemos. The two caravels, *Leoa* and *Rainha* sailed under the command of Pero de Góes and Francisco da Silva. One brigantine, the *São Roque,* completed the fleet. Fernando Alvares de Andrade, who was in charge of the preparations, sent a caravel laden with provisions in advance of the fleet.[29] It was doubtless this ship which took the news to Diogo Alvares, now known as Caramurú,[30] and to others at Bahia.

On March 29 the governor with his entire fleet made an impressive entry into the harbor of Todos os Santos. In accordance with the king's orders Caramurú was at the seashore when the governor landed. He had prepared the natives to receive Sousa and his followers, in friendship, and to aid them in every possible way. The expedition proceeded immediately to Coutinho's deserted fortress, Villa Velha, where forty or fifty earlier settlers still lived. There were still a church and some houses in the village and here the governor set up temporary quarters.[31]

---

[27] Varnhagen, I, 293-296.

[28] Cf. article 1 of Royal Instructions, above. John III had long wished the conversion of his heathens in Brazil. For an account of how Nóbrega came to be appointed cf. J. V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 151-187. As all things else in Brazil, the few secular clergymen had deteriorated.

[29] The caravel was commanded by Gramatão Telles. *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. de Bahia,* no. 36, 1911, 74. According to some authorities thirty colonists went out in this expedition. *Colonização,* III, 337.

[30] The story goes that during one of the anonymous voyages of Portuguese ships on the American coast, Diogo Alvares, a youth of Vienna, was shipwrecked. The Tupinambas took kindly to him and he married the daughter of the local chieftain, and because of this union, was made white chief of the tribe, in Graça, which was in the environs of Salvador. Not only he but his large family exerted great influence. Calmon, in *História de América,* IV, 11.

Building a capital city was one of the first orders in the governor's instructions.[32] How difficult it was to carry out the royal command can be seen from the conditions found at the old stronghold, Villa Velha. Since this was not suitably located the first month was spent by the governor and his advisers examining the region, choosing a site and clearing the ground for the foundations. The place chosen was half a league beyond Villa Velha, on a steep height, a short distance from the shore. This was not only a better position for defense, but it also had a sheltered port and an abundance of fresh water. Three Indian villages, Carmo, Desterro, and Terreiro, were removed and trees and undergrowth were cleared away. A strong palisade was built around the area to protect the soldiers and workers. Sousa laid out the streets and squares, and designated where the market places, government buildings, the treasury, and the church should be erected. Some make-shift houses were first put up by the Europeans with the aid of the Indians. But most of the houses were of a more permanent character—built with mud or stone, either fitted or mortared. Building materials had been brought from Portugal and some from the Cape Verde Islands, but others were local products; the lime, for example, was from the Island Itaparica. To bring these, by land and water, entailed enormous labor. After the work was well advanced Sousa ordered the palisade replaced by strong mud walls, with two great bastions facing the sea, four toward the land; on each of these bastions batteries were mounted. The limits of the city called São Salvador were fixed by Sousa, in accordance with his orders. Within four months after the arrival of the governor and his fleet, Salvador had a hundred houses, a chapel, a governor's palace, and offices for the government officials. The coat of arms of the city consisted of a silver dove with an olive branch in her bill on a vert field encircled by the motto, "Sic illa ad arcam reversa est." This coat of arms is still that of Bahia.[33] On the first of November Thomé de Sousa under his patent as governor general began to make allotments of land near the city for sugar plantations and urged the raising of cattle. He sent the *Gallega* to the Cape Verde Islands with a load of wood to exchange for cattle needed on the farms near Salvador.[34]

---

[31] *Colonização,* III, 334; Varnhagen, I, 298; *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 71.

[32] Cf. article 1 of the Royal Instructions, above.

[33] *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 36, 1911, 70-71, no. 63 (1937), 274; *Colonização,* III, 337; Leite, I, 22; *Documentos historicos,* XXXVII, which publishes salaries of workmen, cost of materials, transportation, etc.; Varnhagen, I, 303.

Although the building of the new city made great demands upon the governor and his assistants, those required for the reorganization of the captaincy of Bahia and the general administration of Brazil were even greater. Certainly the bulk of documents still extant relating to these matters seem excessive for so small a population, but perhaps the rudimentary conditions of both country and people made them necessary.[35] For a long time Sousa himself was fully occupied in Bahia, but as soon as possible he sent his deputies into the other captaincies. He depended greatly on the Jesuits for information, sending them whenever possible with his official subordinates to find out about conditions in other captaincies. It is necessary to have a true picture of the terrible state of the land—cannibalism, concubinage, absence of virtually all mortal restraint and law and order—fully to appreciate the achievements of Brazil's first governor general. The city was virtually surrounded by small groups of Indians, each a threat. Beyond these clusters roved natives too savage to gather in communal life. The progeny of half-castes left by "old settlers" were rated as wild men. The poor whites were of little or no aid to progress. The few wealthier men lived secluded on their estates, directing their slaves and mill-workers.

Within Bahia the necessary alliances with natives seem to have been handled unusually well, thanks to Caramurú and the Jesuits who helped the governor in solving this difficult problem. Petty warfare, however, was frequent and constant vigilance against native hostilities was necessary.[36] In accordance with Sousa's instructions, revolt and rebellion were severely punished. One of the first cases involved four white convicts, who wandering in the interior had been eaten by the cannibals. Góes, sent out by Sousa, captured two of the guilty natives and under the governor's instructions had them tied to a cannon's mouth and shot to pieces.[37] Spectacles of this sort intimidated the natives and though the method of punishment may seem horrible, even Nóbrega and the other priests thought this was justified not only because of the inhumanity of the crime, but because of the general precariousness of the situation. Caramurú continued to give invaluable assistance to the governor and to the missionaries by controlling the natives. But the number of Indians and Negroes compared with that of the colonists was so overwhelming and conversion and civilization were such slow means of gaining friendship under such circumstances, that sporadic assaults upon the Europeans and reversion of some natives to their savage customs were inevitable.

---

[34] *Ibid.,* I, 303.

[35] *Documentos historicos,* Rio de Janeiro, 1937, XXXV, XXXVII, XXXVIII, are devoted to the *mandados, alvarás, provisoes,* and *seismarias* issued from 1549-1553. On June 6, 1649, the *provedor môr,* Antonio Cardoso de Barros, ordered delivered to Garcia de Avila, administrator and receiver of the customs house, a ream of paper for the manufacture of customs books. Thus the customs house was founded in Salvador and afterwards elsewhere. *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 63, 1937, 273.

[36] Nóbrega writing to Dr. Navarro, August 10, 1549, speaks of the constant inter-tribal warfare within ten, fifteen, and twenty miles of Salvador. *Cartas Jesuiticas,* I, 90.

Sousa's great need was for more colonists. The king made special appeal, September 11, 1550, to Pedro Annes do Canto, asking that inhabitants of the Azores go and settle in Brazil. He assured them that Sousa had built a strongly fortified city and that the region of Bahia had a fertile soil. He offered transportation at the expense of the Crown and lands upon their arrival in Bahia, which Sousa would grant free of all charges except the tithe.[38] Annes do Canto was empowered to send as many as three hundred settlers if so many wished to go.[39]

In 1550 additional supplies of all kinds were shipped from Portugal. The cost of sending these supplies to Bahia, added to the expense of equipping Sousa's fleet, amounted to 300,000 cruzados.[40] With the second fleet in 1550, went four more Jesuit fathers and seven orphan boys who were to aid them as catechists. At the same time Nóbrega was made vice-provincial of Brazil, subject to the Jesuit Province of Portugal.[41] In the third year came another fleet on which the queen sent many female orphans of good families. Her intentions were that these young women, after being educated in the Convent for Orphans, should be given in marriage to officers of the new colony. In addition to this special choice of colonists, certainly a change from the convict shipments, the annual fleets carried cargoes of Negroes for the sugar plantations, cattle and mares from the royal farms. With this help the success of the captaincy of Bahia was assured. Within the province, the Jesuits had not only rendered invaluable service among the natives but among the even more unruly whites or half-breeds, some of whom had been living under lawless conditions for nearly twenty years.[42] Sousa fully appreciated the social difficulties of the situation. Many of the slave-owning class conceived a great dislike for the Jesuits, their control over the Indians, and their influence toward higher ethical standards of living. But Sousa realized the importance of supporting Nóbrega and his followers.

---

[37] Varnhagen, I, 306-308. On another occasion settlers went to trade in an island without license, the natives went back into the mountains for their allies. Sousa sent his entire force against them. Nóbrega is reported to have joined the expedition carrying the crucifix "which dismayed the savages as much as it encouraged his own people." The natives fled and the Portuguese burned several of their villages and so terrorized the savages. Southey, *History of Brazil,* I, 259-260. This last incident occurred three years after Salvador was built. Earlier a display of firearms and persuasion were sometimes sufficient.

[38] The *dizimo* was the tithe or tenth set aside for the church. John III as head of the Order of Christ had control of this and his officials administered it.

[39] Full text of letter published in *Colonização,* III, 333.

[40] Southey, *History of Brazil,* I, 216. Figuring a cruzado as 400 reis, and one reis at one-ninth of a cent, or $132,000.

[41] Jacobsen, "Nóbrega," *loc. cit.,* 164-165.

It was the Jesuits who started out on the first expeditions outside of the captaincy of Bahia. In November of 1549, although Sousa was still unable to leave the capital, he determined to send officials of the king to the neighboring captaincies. Pero de Góes, *capitão mor,* was commander of the fleet of two caravels and a brigantine. The *provedor môr de fazenda,* Cardoso de Barros, accompanied him as did Pero Borges, *ouvidor geral,* and three Jesuit fathers.[43] They visited Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and São Vicente. In each of these captaincies Cardoso de Barros investigated the officials who were collecting royal taxes in the captaincies and inquired into the state of the customs houses.[44] Where there were no officials he requested the *donatarios* or their agents to appoint suitable persons to deal with the taxes. He also ordered that customs houses be built at suitable places, near the sea, so that the region could be well administered and not a *reis* lost. The *provedor* also had to establish order in the bookkeeping of the customs houses and see that the registers and records of the royal regulations be properly handled by all officials. The *ouvidor geral* set the machinery for the administration of justice in order in these provinces, reducing the councillors to one ordinary judge and two *vedors,* one serving as *provedor,* the other as treasurer. He also licensed the notaries and administered to them the oaths of loyalty to the Crown as well as enforcing the requirement that their records be properly maintained. Heretofore they had been set down on scraps of paper.[45]

---

[42] It must not be thought that all who arrived in Bahia before the coming of the governor had become degraded. Ega Moniz Barreto and his four sons, Diogo, Duarte, Henrique, and Jeronymo, were in Bahia. They were able people who had come from Madeira, and occupied government offices under the new government. Felipe de Guillen, a Spaniard, who came in 1538, led one of the expeditions in search of gold for Sousa. Cf. Garcia in *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 63, 1937, 275-276; *Colonização,* III, 336.

[43] Those who went were Nóbrega, Leonardo Nunes, and Diogo Jácome. Nunes remained in Ilhéus and the other two proceeded to Porto Seguro. *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 74, Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, 1549.

[44] The duties of the *provedor môr* were definitely specified in separate instructions drawn up at the same time as the governor's. The full text is given in *Colonização,* III, 350-353.

While these two officials delayed in the captaincies to carry on needed reforms Pero de Góes proceeded up the coast where he met Frenchmen and encountered a French ship near Rio de Janeiro. The importance of this region as a base for French activity became more apparent each year and the governor realized the dangers and the necessity for sufficient defense, but he could not spare enough colonists to build or man a fortress there. All that he was able to do was to report the need for further assistance from the Crown. Only two of Sousa's letters to the king are extant, the first of July 18, 1551, when he intimates that there would be further and serious difficulty with the French at Rio. In this same letter he advised, in the interests of economy, the suppression of the office of *provedor môr* and treasurer as useless and proposed that the duties of these offices be transferred to the *ouvidor geral.* So far as internal administration was concerned Sousa was making substantial and steady progress in the needed reforms of governmental machinery. He also reported upon the annual expeditions to the southern captaincies and he complained bitterly of the independence of Pernambuco from the government at Bahia.[46] This favoritism of the king toward the *donatario,* Duarte Coelho, in allowing him to retain his isolation from the central government, was a weak point in the scheme for the centralization of Brazil under one governor general. Nóbrega who divided his time among the various captaincies spent the months from August 1551 to January 1552 in Pernambuco. He found the *donatario* of this prosperous captaincy a most excellent person, but the social conditions of the people deplorable.[47] Still other matters discussed in this letter of the governor general to the king were the failure of exploring parties to find gold, the perennial need for more colonists,[48] more cattle, more iron, and finally, although Sousa was carrying on his office efficiently and making enormous progress, he requested the king to release him at the end of his term.

---

[45] Varnhagen, I, 310-311.

[46] The text of the letter is printed in *Colonização,* III, 361-362. *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 63, 1937, 275.

[47] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 118, Nóbrega to the Brothers of the College of Coimbra, September 13, 1551, and 123-127, Nóbrega to John III, September 14, 1551. Cf. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," *loc. cit.,* 166-167. The circumstances of promiscuity, idolatry, cannibalism, hatred, and war were similar to those already described as prevailing around Bahia.

In the following year, 1552, the first bishop of Brazil, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived in Bahia, with priests, canons, and dignitaries to form a cathedral church. Sousa was able to provide him a modest palace as well as a cathedral and Bahia became the see city of Brazil as well as its capital.[49] Both Sousa and Nóbrega had requested the establishment of a separate bishopric for Brazil, and although this did not have obvious connection with the administrative centralization of the colony, Sousa, heeding the counsel of Nóbrega, realized the moral stability the power of the office would bring.

Before the end of this year 1552, Sousa, with Nóbrega, made his last personal survey of the captaincies. Upon his return to Bahia, he sent Pero de Góes as his emissary to Portugal to inform the Court of the still critical situation of Brazil if he were not given more assistance to carry on defense and maintain reforms.[50] Sousa also wrote a report to the king, his letter of June 1, 1553.[51] He had visited all the captaincies to the south of Bahia, and had ordered those towns and sugar plantations which he found unprotected to be fortified in accordance with royal instructions; in some villages he had pillories erected and jails and courtrooms where there were none; he even laid out streets and made provision for municipal improvements where it could be done without oppressing the poor. He asked the king to order that captains should thereafter reside in their own captaincies or if this was not possible, to provide competent substitutes. He requested ten honest and educated men for the service of the royal *fazenda* in the captaincies. He urged the need for colonizing

---

[48] By order of July 20, 1551, persons entering Bahia or Espírito Santo during the following two years at their own cost should be given lands exempt from the tithe for five years, or coming from the Islands free passage and the same exemption for three years, but if such colonists were carpenters, lime burners, blacksmiths, masons, musket makers, quarrymen, and the like, they should be exempt for five years from tithe but must pay the *redizima* (tithe of the tithe). Varnhagen, I, 321. Nóbrega particularly urged the sending of women to the colony, in a letter to the king in 1552. *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 134.

[49] Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, first bishop of Brazil, received his training at Paris and Salamanca. He had been vicar general of Goa and was in Evora when appointed. *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 30, 1904, 83-96; *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 128; Leite, II, 515-516.

[50] Varnhagen, I, 323.

[51] *Colonização,* III, 361; letter published on pp. 364-366.

Rio de Janeiro, as well as fortifying it, and advised providing royal officials there. He commended the city of São Vicente and Santos. He established a fortress at Bertioga[52] and another at Conceição de Itanhaen for border defense against the natives and Spaniards. Influential at court, his reports to the king carried weight.

Again, there were rumors of the finding of gold in São Vicente and from Porto Seguro but Sousa remained skeptical. Yet he had sent one expedition after another. The first had been under Felipe de Guillen,[53] the Spaniard who had been in Brazil since 1538, another under Sebastião Fernandes Tourinho who entered by Rio Doce and found green stones,[54] and finally the expedition of 1553 upon which Father Azpilcueta Navarro went at Sousa's request.[55] This expedition did not return until 1555. Thus Sousa left Brazil still believing that the search for gold was in vain and that Brazil's wealth lay in the fertility of her land. Though the Portuguese may have been disappointed in not attaining the then current means of profit in American possessions, they might have lost the colony altogether if the gold-hunting expeditions into the hinterland had been successful. The colonists would have been attracted to the interior, and since there was not sufficient population to protect the settlements, Brazil would probably have fallen an easy prey to the combined French and Spanish rivals.

Sousa left Brazil for Portugal on July 13, 1553. His record as governor general contains nothing spectacular but it was a continuous service as a wise statesman under probably some of the most difficult conditions that a colonizing governor has ever faced. That he succeeded shows his ability as an administrator. He followed his royal instructions as literally and carefully as conditions would allow. The little outpost at Bahia he transformed into the great capital city of Brazil. With Father Nóbrega and Pero de Góes he visited the various captaincies, built garrisons, helped found towns which later became great cities, reduced turbulent captaincies to a temporary order, and established the system of royal administrative machinery throughout the colony so that it was able to survive the storms of his successors. He assisted Nóbrega in laying the foundations of the Jesuit schools, and their *aldeia* or mission system, which was to play such an important rôle in the history of Brazil. In short, the unity of Brazil was assured by his meticulous fulfillment of the Royal Instructions of 1548. He was one of the truly great pioneer colonial governors of the Americas.

---

[52] Here he requested the well-known Hans Staden to remain as gunner. Staden's story of his captivity by the Indians is probably one of the most widely read narratives of captivity. Southey, *History of Brazil,* I, 180.

[53] Guillen was an apothecary from Seville who was famed for astrology. He knew a great deal about the country and although he was seventy-three, Sousa chose him to head the first expedition. *Rev. Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia,* no. 63, 1937, 275-276. His own letter of July 20, 1550, is published in full in *Colonização,* III, 359-360.

[54] Varnhagen, I, 329.

[55] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* I, 126; *ibid.,* II, 146-150; "O primeiro capelão de uma bandera—O P. Azpilcueta Navarro em Minas," in Fernando Pedreira de Castro, *Crónica da Igreja no Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, 220-229.

After his return to Portugal, Sousa was appointed *vedor* of the king and remained in this office until his death. As a reward for his services he was granted a lucrative benefice. But his interest in Brazil never waned, and he kept up a correspondence with Nóbrega. His knowledge of the country was valued by the Court and he was frequently consulted in matters affecting the colony. Whether it was at this time that he acquired some reputation as a wit, it is impossible to say, but many of his sayings are registered in "Dittos Portuguezes dignos de memoria." He died January 28, 1579, and was buried in the Convent of S. Antonio at Castanheira.[56]

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

The Newberry Library
Chicago

---

[56] *Colonização,* III, 329, 331.

Fernao Cardim, Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil

For thirty years after the discovery by Pedro Alvares Cabral, virtually nothing was done in Brazil toward its permanent settlement and cultural development. During this period the Portuguese Crown sent out various voyagers to explore the coasts, and to guard the newly discovered land from the many adventurers who, after 1500, frequented the region—especially Frenchmen. The first colonizing expedition to be outfitted with the means sufficient to insure permanent beginnings of settlement was that of Martim Affonso de Sousa, in 1530. Dom João III, the king of Portugal, decided to establish in Brazil the system of hereditary land grants known as *capitanías.* This system proved unsuccessful, and in 1549 a governor general was appointed to administer the entire royal province. This system, with minor variations, prevailed until the end of the century, and to the close of the period of Spanish domination (1580-1640). The capital, and seat of the governor general, was the city of Bahia. When there were two governors, one to administer the northern half of the vast colony, and the other the southern half, the second capital city was Rio de Janeiro.

The year 1549 was a turning point in Brazilian history. It marked the beginning of an era of organized colonization. The scattered colonies planted during the first half century, each under separate captains, were in a perilous condition when the undertaking to bring unity and civilized life to Brazil was begun in 1549. The need for a drastic change was urgent. Disorder and general moral decay characterized Brazilian society; a consequence of the Portuguese attempt to administer a large colony divided into vast *capitanías,* each pursuing an independent existence, far from the restraining arm of the government, which, to make matters worse, settled them in great part with jailbirds and others of low character. The mingled motives behind the attempt to bring order out of chaos were defense against foreign intrusion, extension of Christianity, social stabilization, and commercial exploitation. The second half of the sixteenth century saw the establishment of unity and the flowering of civilized life in Brazil for the first time. In the transmission of culture, King João III turned to the Church, and chose as his special instrument in this work the then newly organized Society of Jesus.[1]

In 1580 Brazil, with its motherland Portugal, fell under the sway of Spain. The union of Spain and Portugal had its unwelcome consequences in Portuguese America: a more violent cycle of enemy attacks upon Brazilian towns and cities by English, French, and now Dutch pirates. But there were also advantages of lasting importance. Philip II's general "hands-off" policy with regard to Portuguese and Brazilian society and institutions, left undisturbed their full development along already established lines. This was especially true in the case of Brazil.[2] The last decade of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth represent an important period of transition in the history of colonial Brazil.[3] Evolving social, economic, and cultural forces were taking deep and permanent root. It was a period of territorial consolidation along the coastal fringe, and increased immigration given impetus by the political union of Spain and Portugal; by 1600 the settlement of the coastal strip was virtually completed. In general, the immigrant to Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century was a stable colonist. The forces of Brazilian unity which definitely began to take form in the middle of the sixteenth century, and which were manifested so clearly in the expulsion of the Dutch from northern Brazil in the middle of the following century, were being strengthened.

---

[1] It is not necessary to give specific citations to all the vast materials upon which the above generalizations are based: Varnhagen, Capistrano de Abreu, Calogeras, Calmon, and Leite are a few of the general secondary authorities. The best brief evaluation of the period is J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de Historia Colonial,* Rio de Janeiro, 1934; excellent recent sketches of the period prior to 1549 are Fernando Pedreira de Castro, *Crónica da Igreja no Brasil, Periodo Pre-Anchietano, 1500-1553,* Rio de Janeiro, 1938, and Luiz Norton, "A Colonização do Brasil, 1500-1550," *Revista de Historia de América,* IV (1941), 5-46.

[2] For general evaluations of the history of Brazil under Spanish rule cf. Lucio José dos Santos, "O Dominio Hespanhol," *Primeiro Congresso de Historia Nacional,* Tomo Especial, Parte I, Rio de Janeiro, 1915, 249-336, and José Francisco de Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brasil,* 10 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, n. d., III, 748-754.

[3] "Época de transição, tão pouco estudada ainda, entre o século XVI e o século XVII." Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, de Nóbrega a Vieira,* São Paulo, 1940, 134. Reliable general secondary evaluations of the period may be found in Adolfo Varnhagen, *Historia Geral do Brasil,* 5 volumes, São Paulo, n. d., Capistrano de Abreu-Rodolfo Garcia edition, II, 7-23; Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brasil,* III, 754-761; Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 2 volumes (thus far), São Paulo, 1939-1941, II, 430-461; Santos, "O Dominio Hespanhol," 264-274; and Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XI (1931), 147-163.

The history of the Jesuits in Brazil during the first century of Portuguese effort there falls into three general periods: the period 1549-1570, which saw a brilliant beginning and the establishment of lasting social, religious, and cultural foundations under the able leadership of Manuel da Nóbrega,[4] "founder" of the Jesuit province of Brazil, and his companion and successor Luiz da Grã;[5] the period 1570-1583, one of gradual progress and expansion, the saintly figure of José de Anchieta,[6] "the apostle of Brazil," towering in the background; and the period from 1583 to the end of the century, which witnessed the revitalizing of the Jesuit effort in all its spheres of activity under the able direction of Cristóvão de Gouveia,[7] second Jesuit visitor to the Jesuit province of Brazil (1583-1589), who drew together the threads of three decades of labor, and formulated the general pattern of action which was to be pursued by the Jesuits from that time until their expulsion in the latter part of the eighteenth century.[8] To repeat here that the Jesuits were the only dynamic spiritual, cultural, and intellectual force in the early development of Brazil, is but to repeat the statement of every competent Brazilian historian of the last fifty years. As Dr. Manuel de Oliveira Lima has stated:

> The priests of the Jesuit Order rendered such remarkable services in Brazil that it is no exaggeration to say that they were the principal agents of our national culture, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is, during the period in which the new society was adapting itself to its new surroundings.[9]

The transitional period 1580-1625 was one of institutional consolidation and wide expansion of missionary activity to the south, far north, and west. In the cultural and intellectual development of Brazil it was the period between the age of Anchieta and that of Vieira. During this important half-century the Jesuit humanist Fernão Cardim, like other of his companions, in ages before and after, carried forward the torch, never entirely dimmed, of a broad Christian humanism capable of progressive adaptation in relation to time and place. The spiritual and cultural unity of Brazil was assured. It is the ever-presence of Jesuits of the type of Cardim, most of whom yet await adequate study in the broad field of intellectual history, that make it necessary to revise and correct many of the all-inclusive generalizations of the pombalian tradition, and the inconclusive theories concerning the so-called intellectual and scientific "obscurantists" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the so-called "re-discoverers" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[10]

---

[4] Cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 151-187.

[5] Cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," *ibid.,* 188-216.

[6] A biographical study of Anchieta is being made by the present writer; as yet no serious study has appeared in English.

[7] Cf. *Idem,* "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 27-60.

[8] The general statements of the above paragraph are based for the most part on Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Seculo XVI,* 2 volumes, Lisbon, 1938, and *Cartas Jesuíticas,* 3 volumes, Coleção Afránio Peixoto, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933.

[9] Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared With That of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America,* edited with introduction and notes by Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, 1914, 19. Cf. also J. M. de Madureira, *A Libertade dos Indios—a Companhia de Jesus—a sua Pedagogia e seus resultados,* Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Tomo Especial, Rio de Janeiro, 1927; *III Centenario do Veneravel José de Anchieta,* Paris-Lisbon, 1900; Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January 1942), 6-8.

I

Very little is known of Fernão Cardim's early life. Of ancient and noble Portuguese lineage, he was born to Gaspar Clemente and Inez Cardim in Viana de Alvito, in the archbishopric of Evora, probably in the year 1548.[11] He entered the Society of Jesus on February 9, 1566.[12] It is of passing interest to note that Cardim had two brothers and three nephews who also distinguished themselves as members of the Society of Jesus.[13] Cardim was on the staff at the College of Evora, and was already professed of four vows, that much we know, when in 1582 he was designated to serve as companion and secretary to Cristóvão de Gouveia, who had been appointed by his Jesuit superiors as second Jesuit visitor to Brazil. Early in October of that year he was on the road to Lisbon, and finally, on March 5, 1583, Cardim and the other members of the Jesuit party—five in all—embarked for Bahia. They reached their destination on May 9.[14] For the next two and a half years, until October 16, 1585, we can follow Cardim's trail almost day by day in the pages of his now classic *Narrativa Epistolar,*[15] a sort of diary of his superior Gouveia's official visitation.

---

[10] Between the extremes of the so-called jesuitical apologists, and what may be termed the followers of the pombalian tradition, no impartial and authoritative monograph has yet appeared in English on this fundamental yet inadequately investigated subject. Thus far historians have generally relied upon conclusions based on incomplete and misinterpreted evidence. Every age, of course, has had both servile and dynamic spirits, but the continuity of the best Renaissance humanism has at no moment been entirely absent in the later intellectual development of the Western World. As for the rôle of the Jesuits in this process, there is abundant evidence to substantiate the following conclusions of the Brazilian historian, J. F. de Almeida Prado: "O metodo dos Jesuitas nunca aprezentou aspeto de obra imovel nos séculos, pelo contrario, acompanhava a evolução do tempo como se pode ver nas modificações dos *'Exercicios'* de Santo Inácio." *Pernambuco e as Capitanias do Norte do Brasil, 1530-1630,* São Paulo, 1941, II, 21, note 11.

[11] Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil,* edited by Rodolfo Garcia, *et al,* second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 11-12, 366-367 (all future page references to Cardim, *Tratados,* are to this edition); *Cartas Jesuíticas* III, 286, note 326; Antonio Franco, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* [1715], Pôrto, 1930, 492; Varnhagen, *Historia,* II, 26-27.

[12] Cardim, *Tratados,* 12, 366-367; J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e Estudos,* 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1938, II, 326. Cf. also Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesús,* nouvelle édition, 11 volumes, Bruxelles, 1890-1932, VIII, 1991.

Immediately upon his arrival, the Father Visitor Gouveia discussed important matters at length with the Jesuit fathers at the college of Bahia, and made a rapid tour of inspection of the Jesuit missions, or *aldeias,* in the surrounding area. Meanwhile, he laid plans for his tour of inspection of the other captaincies in the vast Jesuit province of Brazil. Cardim, his faithful secretary and diarist, was ever at his side. In August of 1583, with other fellow companions, they went by Jesuit boat[16] south to Camamu, Ilhéus, and Porto Seguro. At each of these places there were Jesuit residences and *aldeias* to visit. In October the party returned to Bahia. After Gouveia had attended to important administrative matters, two months were spent inspecting the various Jesuit Indian *aldeias* surrounding the bay, during the course of which nearly all of the thirty-six sugar plantations of the vicinity were also visited.

Finally, after delays imposed by the weather, in June 1584, the party sailed north for Pernambuco. The visit there lasted nearly three months. In October they returned to Bahia, and after a short rest, on November 14 they proceeded southward. In fact, they were to visit the southern captaincies as far south as Tanhahen, the southernmost point of Brazilian colonization at that time. On November 21 they reached Espírito Santo, where the Jesuit residence and surrounding *aldeias* were visited. On December 20 they reached Rio, and they were at Piratininga on January 25, 1585, to witness the thirtieth anniversary of the Jesuit residence there, around which the later city of São Paulo was to arise. After over a month's stay at Piratininga, and the visiting of São Vicente and Santos, in April they were again at Rio. Here Cardim fell deathly ill, and his quick recovery following the administering of local home remedies by Father Anchieta was considered miraculous by his Jesuit companions.[17] The arrival of orders from Europe at this time cut short their stay. Returning to Bahia, on October 16, 1585, the visitation was completed—and Cardim completed the first and major part of his lively and delightful *Narrativa Epistolar*.[18]

---

[13] His brother Diogo Fróes, who taught moral theology at the University of Coimbra, died in Lisbon, a victim of the plague of 1568-1569, contracted while attending the sick. His other brother, Lourenço Cardim, died at the hands of French pirates while en route from Portugal to Brazil in 1585. Of the nephews, João Cardim, Diogo Cardim, and Antonio Francisco Cardim, the last mentioned, like his uncle Fernão, is best known for his literary work. Antonio Francisco Cardim, for years a missionary in Japan, is the author of important published works. Cf. Cardim, *Tratados,* 13, 318, 363-364; *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 286, note 326; Leite, *História,* I, 569, and II, 134.

[14] Cardim, *Tratados,* 13-14; Espinosa, "Gouveia," 31.

[15] This work is fully described below.

[16] On the Jesuit boats, cf. Espinosa, "Gouveia," 39-40.

When the Father Visitor Gouveia returned to Portugal in the summer of 1589, Cardim remained in Brazil, for he had been appointed rector of the Jesuit college in Bahia, a post he was to hold until the middle of the year 1592.[19] Details of Cardim's activities as rector at Bahia are scanty. Among other things he was undoubtedly poring over the local Jesuit archives when time permitted, just as he had done in preparing the first part of his *Narrativa Epistolar,* for his various writings about the Brazilian scene reveal the careful study of reports of Anchieta, Grã, and others.

The task of organization on the Jesuit *aldeias* in the Bahia region was proceeding successfully. Besides attending to the Indians already living village life and visiting other villages in the interior for purposes of instruction, the fathers made excursions into the woods and mountains in quest of the more barbarous natives. Thus many new neophytes were brought out of the dark hinterland to the established *aldeias.* To the north of Bahia lived some jungle people who were deemed wild men even by the natives living in villages. These at times were so untamed that they had no village life whatsoever. To contact them either for instruction or punishment was a dangerous and difficult task. But the work went on facilitated by the cooperation of Governor Francisco de Sousa, who followed the advice of Cardim and his confreres in these matters as well as legal affairs and matters of conscience.[20]

---

[17] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 407-408, note 545. Leaving the miraculous aspect to more competent judges, it is an established fact that a number of the early Jesuits in Brazil, preeminently Anchieta, pioneered in the study of native drugs, herbs, and other remedies of practical use for medical treatment. Cf. Serafim Leite, "Os Jesuitas no Brasil e a Medicina," in *id., Páginas de História do Brazil,* São Paulo, 1937, 195-216; *id., História,* II, 569-585.

[18] Cardim, *Tratados, passim.*

[19] Leite, *História,* I, 68, and 68, note 5. Here Leite corrects Rodolfo Garcia and others who have Cardim serving as rector at Bahia until the middle of the year 1593.

From 1594 to 1598 Cardim was rector of the Jesuit college in Rio de Janeiro.[21] Information on his activities during this period is also scanty. However, the companionship of Anchieta, who was with him for some time at Rio prior to his death at Rerityba, Espírito Santo, on June 7, 1597, undoubtedly broadened his knowledge of Brazilian things, and indirectly enriched the notes which Cardim was gathering on the physical and social history of Brazil.[22] At the provincial congregation, which was held in Bahia in 1598, Cardim was elected procurator of the Brazilian province, and sent to Rome in that capacity for the purpose of reporting and consulting on the status and needs of the province.[23] Back in Europe he found his old chief, Gouveia, provincial of the Portuguese province. In Rome, Aquaviva, who had sent him to Brazil with Gouveia, was still General of the Society. From our knowledge of his intellectual curiosity and the sources for some of his writings, it is evident that while in Rome he availed himself of the opportunity to examine some of the reports and letters from Brazil which were filed in the Jesuit archives there.

On September 24, 1601, Cardim embarked at Lisbon in the Flemish sloop *São Vicente* for the voyage back to Brazil, accompanied by Father João Madureira, as Jesuit visitor, and seventeen Jesuit missionaries.[24] The fact that a visitor and seventeen Jesuit missionaries were on their way to Brazil was evidence of the success of Cardim's efforts in Rome. This was the largest Jesuit expedition to be sent to Brazil since the great

---

[20] The following additional isolated facts are known about Cardim during this period: On April 14, 1591, he denounced one Salvador de Maia, and others, before the Holy Office; and he was the confessor of Governor Francisco de Sousa during the latter's illness in 1591. Anchieta to Captain Miguel de Azevedo, Bahia, December 1, 1592, *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 280-284; *ibid.,* 286, note 326; Leite, *História,* II, 170.

[21] Leite, *História,* I, 405.

[22] Cardim, *Tratados,* 14, 371.

[23] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 286, note 326; *ibid.,* 346; Cardim, *Tratados,* 371. Cardim carried with him a manuscript biography of Anchieta—the first—which had been written by Father Quiricio Caxa. Alcantara Machado's statement as late as 1933 that the whereabouts of this manuscript was unknown, *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 346, note 438, is erroneous, for it already had been referred to by the Portuguese historian, Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Asistencia de Portugal,* Pôrto, 1931, Tomo I, Vol. I, 475. It is published in Leite, *Páginas,* 152-182.

[24] Leite, *História,* I, 572-573; II, 328.

Jesuit tragedy of 1570, when forty Jesuits, on their way to Brazil, were martyred at sea by French pirates.[25] This expedition also ended in disaster, for the Flemish sloop was scarcely three or four leagues out to sea when it was attacked by English pirates. After a futile struggle against heavy odds, on the following day the Portuguese were forced to surrender to the attackers. The captain of the pirate ship, Francis Cook of Dartmouth, treated Fathers Madureira and Cardim with respect, and took them and four others as captives to England. Father Madureira died en route on October 5, 1601. The other eleven Jesuits had been landed on the Portuguese coast. In England Cardim was held a prisoner until ransomed, during which time he was despoiled of the documents he had with him.[26] Eventually, some time before May 7, 1603, Cardim obtained his freedom under circumstances as yet little known, and crossed over to Brussels; from there he made his way back to Portugal.[27] Of the Jesuits who had landed safely on the Portuguese coast, most of them eventually went to Brazil on subsequent expeditions.

II

Meanwhile, on January 13, 1603, Cardim had been appointed provincial of the Brazilian province.[28] He arrived at Bahia, accompanied by six other Jesuits, without mishap on April 30, 1604.[29] During his term as provincial, which office he held until 1609, with residence at the central college in Bahia, he set in motion a number of activities of lasting significance in the general expansion, colonization, and unification of Brazil.

Of these the best known are the attempts to establish missions among the Carijós in the vicinity of Lagôa dos Patos at the southern tip of the settled Brazilian coastal region, and in Ceará and Maranhão in the far north. Cardim had brought instructions from Rome to establish a mission in the region of Lagôa dos Patos if possible, for the Carijós, natives of the region, had been known to be disposed to conversion ever since the days of Nóbrega. When the local authorities of São Vicente wrote to Cardim requesting missionaries for these natives, the father provincial put the long contemplated plan into operation.

---

[25] The fullest and most reliable account of the Jesuit expedition of 1570 may be found in Leite, *História,* II, 248-266. Cf. also Jacobsen, "Nóbrega," 185.

[26] These documents are fully discussed below.

[27] Cardim, *Tratados,* 14-15, 371; Leite, *História,* I, 267.

[28] Leite, *História,* II, 498.

[29] *Ibid.,* I, 572.

Fathers João Lobato and Jerónimo Rodrigues, both of whom were well versed in the native language, accompanied by twelve friendly Indians, set out from Santos on March 27, 1605, for the unknown pagan lands to the south. The expedition which lasted nearly two years, was unsuccessful from the point of view of conversion; nevertheless, it was one of the first faltering steps toward the eventual Portuguese colonization of the present state of Rio Grande do Sul. Furthermore, Rodrigues' remarkable account of the expedition constitutes the first detailed Brazilian source for the history of the region.[30]

Equally memorable was the Jesuit attempt to establish missions in Ceará in 1607. During the 1580's and 1590's, the region between Bahia and Pernambuco had been finally pacified and occupied, and Rio Grande do Norte in the far north had been permanently occupied. Beyond lay Ceará, Maranhão, and the vast Amazon basin, the interior occupied by hostile Indians, and the coastal region infested with Dutch, English, and French traders and pirates. The hostile Indians of this hinterland were an obstacle to the frontier settlements, and the foreign intruders were a potential threat to the entire colony. Under these circumstances, and with immediate economic interests in mind, Governor Diogo Botelho sent several official military expeditions into the region. These efforts were unsuccessful. He now sought the services of the Jesuits. Cardim chose Fathers Francisco Pinto and Luiz Figueira to undertake the expedition. The earlier military expeditions made the Jesuit efforts more difficult, for through cruelty toward the natives, many of whom were seized and reduced to slavery, they had aroused the full ire of the natives of the region. As emissaries of peace, the Jesuits insisted that no soldiers or other white men accompany them. In this the governor complied, and on January 20, 1607, accompanied by sixty friendly Indians, the two Jesuits set out from Pernambuco. This expedition penetrated farther into the hinterland than the preceding ones, but it also ended in disaster.

But if they all failed in their immediate purpose, that of reaching Maranhão, they did not fail in the sense of the experience gained: knowledge of the lands and their native peoples, and the difficulties

---

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 326-331; Cardim, *Tratados,* 15. The Rodrigues account is printed in Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas,* 196-246. This document, which Leite found in the Jesuit archives in Rome (*ibid.*, 196, note 84), was originally written in the form of letters, which are summarized in Pierre du Jarric, *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres pais de la descouverte des portugais, en l'establessement & progrez de la foy . . .*, 3 volumes, Bourdeaux, 1608-1614, III, 481-488.

> and possibilities of the undertaking. These sacrifices always bring positive experience which is of decisive value for later expeditions. In the case of this particular expedition, the conclusion was, later, the attempt of Jerónimo de Albuquerque and Alexandre de Moura, which finally was crowned with success.[31]

Pinto lost his life on the expedition; but Figueira survived, and returned to the region after its conquest to pioneer in the founding of Indian *aldeias* there. By the end of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries had dotted the former wilderness with fifty-five Indian *aldeias* which were so well organized that in 1755 twenty-eight of them were transformed into that many permanent Brazilian towns and villages by merely changing their names. In short, the expedition of Fathers Pinto and Figueira to Ceará during Cardim's provincialate belongs definitely to the cycle of Portuguese expansion in northern Brazil. Furthermore, Figueira's detailed account of the expedition is the first important Brazilian source of information on the regions visited.[32]

Besides showing great interest in the general problems of expansion in the interests of both Church and state, as indicated above, Cardim did memorable work in fostering the educational program of the Jesuits, and in the Jesuit work of spiritual and moral aid to the Indian and Negro slaves. Slave labor was accepted throughout the entire Western World at that time, and anyone who argued openly against the system, as did some Jesuits, was considered by the slave owners an undesirable element contriving to upset, among other things, the whole labor system on the plantations. Cardim spent much time seeing to it that Jesuit fathers visited regularly the slaves on the numerous plantations surrounding Bahia.[33] With regard to the Negroes, it was discussed at this time, as on several previous occasions, whether or not Angola, on the western coast of Africa, should be set up as a mission of the Brazilian province. As a result of the discussions, in 1604 the Jesuit provincial of Portugal asked Father Cardim to send a visitor directly from Brazil to Angola to investigate the possibilities. Two Jesuits were sent, but the plan did not prove feasible at this time.[34] Cardim, like his predecessors Grã, Gouveia, and Rodrigues, urged the study of the language of the Angola Negroes as well as the Tupi as an instrument of conversion.

---

[31] Serafim Leite, *Luiz Figueira, a Sua Vida Heróica e a Sua Obra Literária,* Lisbon, 1940, 26.

[32] Although mention of the Pinto-Figueira expedition may be found in any detailed Brazilian history touching upon the region in question, by far the most complete and adequate treatment is found in Leite, *Luiz Figueira,* 25-33. Among the documents printed in Leite's volume are Figueira's "Relação da Missão do Maranhão," [1608 (1609 ?)], 105-152, and his "Dificultades da Missão do Maranhão," [August 26, 1609], 155-157.

[33] Cardim to Aquaviva, Bahia, September 1, 1604, cited in Leite, *História,* II, 306, note 2.

Last, but not least, Cardim was instrumental in the writing of the second biography of Anchieta, for as Jesuit provincial he requested his confrere Pero Rodrigues to write the work.[35]

At the termination of his provincialate, Cardim again became rector of the college at Bahia with the additional duties of vice-provincial. During this time Antonio Vieira, later to become the apostle of Indian freedom and the outstanding figure in Brazilian letters in the seventeenth century, arrived in Bahia from Portugal. Cardim, a welcome guest in the home of young Vieira's parents, soon recognized the qualities of the sickly child, and took him under his wing.[36] Brazilian historians never fail to point out that at the college of Bahia Vieira was a student of the "sage informant of the things of Brazil"[37]—Cardim, "a name which in Portugal and Brazil recalls to mind the heroic virtues of illustrious men."[38]

Cardim was still rector of the Jesuit college in Bahia, and vice-provincial, when a powerful Dutch fleet entered the port and invaded the city on May 9, 1624.[39] The Jesuits expelled from their college, which was transformed into a wine warehouse, took refuge in the nearby *aldeia* of Espírito Santo. Twelve others who arrived in Brazil at this time, unaware of the developments, were seized by the Dutch and taken as prisoners to Holland. Among the captives was the newly appointed provincial. After twenty months' imprisonment in the jails of Amsterdam, these Jesuits were finally ransomed through the intervention of their Father General. In the absence of the provincial, Cardim assumed the administration of the province.

---

[34] Leite, *História,* II, 353-355. Some of the Jesuits mastered a few of the African languages in order to facilitate their work of conversion among the Negroes (Cardim, *Tratados,* 289), and finally, in 1697, Father Pedro Dias' *Arte da lingua de Angola* was published for the express use of the Brazilian Jesuits (Leite, *História,* II, 354-355, note 4). Varnhagen, the well-known nineteenth-century Brazilian historian, who was of the personal conviction that slave labor was justifiable (cf. his famous statement in defense of Indian slavery in his *História,* I, 435), accuses the Jesuits of neglecting the Negro. In view of the general attitude of the white race, especially north-Europeans, toward the colored races, it is hard to determine the exact personal motive which led Varnhagen to make this somewhat parenthetical remark, for when viewed in the perspective of general efforts toward the uplifting of the Negro in the colonial period, the generalization is without foundation in fact.

[35] Pero Rodrigues, "Vida do Padre José de Anchieta," published in *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro,* XIX (1897), 1-49, and XXIX (1909), 181-287.

Cardim also played an active part in the gathering of testimony on the sainthood and miracles of Anchieta. Cf. Cardim to Aquaviva, Bahia, May 8, 1606, cited by Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados,* 16.

[36] Cardim, *Tratados,* 17.

[37] Calmon, *História do Brasil,* I, 464; Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos,* 130.

[38] Rodolfo Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados,* 17.

[39] *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 286, note 326; Cardim, *Tratados,* 18. For the decade preceding the Dutch occupation, we have relatively sparse evidence as to Cardim's activities. However, he contributed considerably to the documentation of the period by commissioning Father Luis Baralho de Araujo to write to the Father General of the Society an illuminating *carta anua*

Old and broken in health, and in the shadow of war, Cardim fell ill and died on January 27, 1625, on the *aldeia* of Espírito Santo (today Abrantes), a Jesuit Indian mission which had been among the first that he knew in Brazil.[40] Cardim had given nearly a half a century of service in Brazil. His death in the midst of the Dutch invasion of Brazil was symbolic—for from among his former students at Bahia (notably Vieira) was to emerge the leadership which eventually brought about the expulsion of the Dutch invaders, the restoration of Brazilian territorial unity, and the inauguration of a new phase in the further consolidation and strengthening of Brazil. Vieira has left the following brief character sketch of Cardim: "a truly religious man of exemplary life; most affable and kind, especially toward his subordinates . . . he sympathized with everyone and loved everyone."[41] The last mentioned traits are quite evident in Cardim's writings.

III

In Brazil's early pioneering days the Jesuits, notably José de Anchieta and Fernão Cardim, were the precursors of Brazilian literature and historical writing. Cardim, a product of the University of Evora, was a humanist of vast culture. Besides his remarkable qualities of observation, his style, personal and informal, simple and unostentatious, almost conversational, gives an added note of genuineness to his extremely vivid and realistic descriptions and comments on men and things. His best known writings are limited to the Brazilian scene of the 1580's and 1590's, and among those who wrote about Brazil during that

---

on the state of the Society in Brazil, dated Bahia, December 1621. This letter was published in Italian in Rome, 1627, and in French in Paris, 1628 (for complete bibliographical titles cf. Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados,* 18). It is hoped that Serafim Leite's forthcoming third and fourth volumes of his *História* will shed new light on this period of Cardim's life.

[40] Cardim, *Tratados,* 18, 365-366.

[41] *Ibid.,* 25.

period he is one of the most reliable informants. His works take their place with those of his contemporaries José de Anchieta, Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, Gabriel Soares de Sousa, and Frei Vicente do Salvador, as basic source material for the history of Brazil in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. As true literature, literature that is printed and widely read, the writings of Anchieta and Cardim stand apart, for some of them were published in their own day, or shortly after, whereas the writings of the other authors mentioned, with the sole exception of one of Gandavo's treatises (a sort of brief immigrant's guide), remained archival documents until the nineteenth century. Finally, the brevity of Gandavo, the dull, encyclopaedic, catalogue-like character of Soares de Sousa, and the frequently unreliable documentation of the discursive Frei Vicente, are characteristics of these works which make them inferior to the writings of Anchieta and Cardim as examples of an incipient literature.

The three works on which Cardim's literary fame rests are his: *Narrativa Epistolar, Do Principio e Origem dos Indios do Brasil,* and *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil.* The three works have been recently published under one title, *Fernão Cardim, Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925; second edition, São Paulo, 1939), with introductions and notes by the well-known Brazilian historians Baptista Caetano, J. Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolfo Garcia, a work already cited many times in these pages. Rodolfo Garcia evaluates Cardim's *Tratados* as follows:

> Those who study the past history of Brazil must recognize that among the contributers to our historical writings we owe a great debt of gratitude to that meritorious Jesuit. In fact, among those who treat of Brazil in the last years of the sixteenth century, Fernão Cardim was one of the most reliable informants. . . . He was among the precursors of our History, writing when Brazil, to put it thus, had no history as yet; and that is why . . . his history is more natural than civil, or one and the other at the same time. In it we have the geographer, who studies the land, its divisions, its climate, its habitability; the ethnologist, who describes the aborigines, their usages, customs and ceremonies; the zoologist and the botanist, equally competent in both fields for the study of unknown flora and fauna; but in it we also have the historical narrator, who writes about the Jesuit missions, colleges, and residences, the state of affairs in the captaincies, their inhabitants and products, the progress or decline of the colony, and the causes therein—in short, the story of the daily life of that nascent society of which he was a part. His remarks are the

testimony of an eye-witness, and have added value in their informal spontaneity and unquestionable sincerity.[42]

THE NARRATIVA EPISTOLAR. Of Cardim's writings the first to appear in print in Portuguese with its authorship unquestioned was the now well-known *Narrativa Epistolar.* It was made known to historians for the first time by the well-known Brazilian historian Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, who found the document in the Bibliotheca de Evora, Portugal, and published it in Lisbon, 1847, under the title: *Narrativa epistolar de uma viagem e missão jesuítica pela Bahia, Ilhéos, Porto Seguro, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Vicente (São Paulo), etc., desde o anno de 1583 ao de 1590, indo por visitador o Padre Christovão de Gouvêa. Escripta em duas cartas ao P. Provincial em Portugal, pelo Padre Fernão Cardim, Ministro do Collegio da Companhia em Evora, etc., etc.* This title was given the document by Varnhagen, for in the *Catologo dos Manuscriptos da Bibliotheca Eborense* it is listed under the title *Enformação da Missão do Padre Christovão de Gouvêa as partes do Brasil no anno de 83.*[43] The document consists of two letters, both signed by Cardim, written to the father provincial in Portugal, and dated Bahia, October 16, 1585, and May 1, 1590. The longer first letter constitutes the major part of the account.

As Capistrano de Abreu pointed out many years ago, "the study of the early Jesuit is indispensable" for any study of the Brazilian scene in the 1580's. Nearly every detailed history of Brazil begins the discussion of the transitional period of the

---

[42] *Ibid.,* 10-11.

[43] Citation of Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados,* 19-20. The work was reprinted by A. J. de Mello Moraes, in Rio de Janeiro, 1860 and 1872. Meanwhile, sections of the important document appeared in a number of published works. By 1900 the earlier complete editions were practically unaccessable, hence a new edition was published, that of Eduardo Prado, in the *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro,* Rio de Janeiro, LXV, Part I (1902), 5-69. None of these earlier editions was annotated. Finally, in 1925, second edition 1939, appeared the definitive edition in Cardim, *Tratados,* cited above. For further bibliographical details see Rodolfo Garcia's notes in Cardim, *Tratados,* 19-22. The copy used by Varnhagen in 1847, and reproduced subsequently, contained many errors and omissions, discovered by Capistrano de Abreu and Paulo Prado and corrected in the published 1925-1939 edition.

It should be noted here that John B. Stetson, Jr., is in error when he states in his edition of *Pero de Magalhães, The Histories of Brazil,* 2 volumes, New York, 1922, II, 247, that Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar* was published in *Purchas his Pilgrimes;* two other treatises since identified as the works of Cardim were published by Purchas, as is described fully in the following pages, but the *Narrativa Epistolar* has not yet appeared in English. The present writer, however, has completed an English translation which will appear in print in the near future.

1580's and 1590's with a general survey of the Brazilian social and economic scene at that time based in large part on Cardim's account (Varnhagen, Rocha Pombo, Calmon, etc.). In fact, on the social and economic life of Portuguese Brazil of the period it has had no equal, except perhaps for the combined letters of the other Brazilian Jesuits of the period, as yet little used; for the lay writers of the period concern themselves only incidentally with the social scene, their concern primarily being a description of the topography of the land and the flora, fauna, and native tribes.

In the *Narrativa Epistolar* Cardim is a keen observer of life, giving an accurate picture of Brazil as he saw it. He writes with sympathy and realism. He is a close observer of nature in all of its aspects—for him nature was something vivid and alive. He neither moralizes nor draws definite conclusions—he simply records what he saw, good and bad. His lively narrative, written in an informal conversational manner, is also marked by a delightful sense of humor, real human understanding, and a flare for original and charming comparisons. For a description of everyday life among the Portuguese and their slaves on the plantations of Bahia and Pernambuco; of daily life on the Jesuit Indian *aldeias,* and Indian festivities and religious celebrations; of the relations between whites and Indians throughout Brazil; of the climate, the plant and animal life; in short, for a photographic picture of everyday Brazilian life and the Brazilian scene in the 1580's, one must necessarily consult Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar*. It also contains the finest brief character sketches of some of his fellow Jesuits that may be found anywhere, notably those of Anchieta and Brother Barnabé Tello.[44] This is undoubtedly Cardim's finest piece of writing.

It has been suggested by some Brazilian historians that all of the information contained in the *Narrativa Epistolar* could hardly have been founded entirely on personal observation. Capistrano de Abreu pointed out that many of Cardim's statements were similar in character and even in phraseology to parts of certain letters attributed to Anchieta. To labor on this specific point is of little consequence. The important fact, which has not been sufficiently emphasized, is that the Jesuits who compiled the *Cartas Anuas* and similar special reports generally incorporated into their own accounts pertinent data from the letters and reports periodically drawn up at the various Jesuit residences, some of which were kept primarily for the local records, and others percisely for the purpose of facilitating the efficient dispatch of general reports to the Jesuit authorities in Europe. That Cardim incorporated such data which fitted into his own account and corroborated his own observations, is not only quite evident, but was customary procedure. In fact, no one as yet has noted that a letter of the Jesuit Luiz da Grã, written as early as 1553, and published for the first time in 1940,[45] contains descriptive details of the land and people of Brazil which are practically paraphrased by Cardim, and also by Anchieta. Anchieta, an ancient of the Brazilian province, who accompanied, when health permitted, the members of the famous tour which is the basis of Cardim's account, undoubtedly served, as did others of his Brazilian confreres, as verbal sources of information as well. All these varied sources of information helped to make some of the Jesuit relations, such as the *Narrativa Epistolar,* soundly documented historical records as well as delightful manifestations of an incipient literature "of" and "about" Brazil.

---

[44] Cardim, *Tratados,* 263-264, 305.

DO PRINCIPIO E ORIGEM DOS INDIOS DO BRASIL and DO CLIMA E TERRA DO BRASIL. These two works, the complete titles being *Do Principio e Origem dos Indios do Brasil e de seus costumes e ceremonias* and *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil e de algunas cousas notaveis que se acham assim na terra como no mar,* first appeared in print in English in *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* London, 1625, under the title *A Treatise of Brasil written by a Portugal which had long lived there.*[46] How Purchas came into possession of these documents, and the importance he attached to them, may be seen in his own introductory remarks to the documents as published by him in English translation:

> Reader, I here present thee the exactest Treatise of Brasil which I have seene written by any man, especially in the Historie of the multiplied and diversified Nations and customes of men; as also in the naturall Historie of Beasts, Serpents, Fowles, Fishes, Trees, Plants, with divers other remarkeable rarities of those Regions. It was written (it seemeth) by a Portugall Frier (or Jesuite) which had lived thirtie yeares in those parts, from whom (much against his will) the written Booke was taken by one Frances Cooke of Dartmouth in a Voyage outward bound for Brasil, An. 1601. who sold the same to Master

---

[45] Luiz da Grã to St. Ignatius, Bahia, December 27, 1553, printed in Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuiticas,* 160-169.

[46] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* [1625], reprint, 20 volumes, Glasgow, 1905-1907, XVI, 417-503.

> Hacket for twenty shillings; by whose procurement it was translated out of Portugall into English: which translation I have compared with the written Originall, and in many places supplied defects, amended errours, illustrated with notes, and thus finished and furnished to the publike view. Great losse had the Author of his worke, and it not a little of his name*, which I should as willingly have inserted as worthy much honour for his industrie, by which the great and admirable workes of the Creator are made knowne; the visible and various testimonies of his invisible power, and manifold wisedome. Sic vos non vobis. In this and other written tractates the Spaniards and the Portugals have taken paines, and (which was denied to Spaine and Portugall) England is here entred into their labours, and hath reaped an English harvest of Spanish and Portugall seede.
>
> * I finde at the end of the Booke some medicinall receipts, and the name subscribed Ir. Manoel Tristaon Emfermeiro do Colegio da Baya: whom I imagine to have beene Author of this Treatise. Cooke reported that he had it of a Friar: but the name Jesus divers times on the top of the page, and often mention of the Fathers and societie maketh me thinke him a brother of that order. . . .[47]

The above quotation is the basis for our knowledge as to how and when Purchas obtained the two treatises in question. As may be seen readily, the authorship attributed by Purchas was purely hypothetical.

Cardim's authorship of the two treatises was convincingly proved by J. Capistrano de Abreu in the introduction to his edition of the first of the two, which he published in 1881.[48] Having found a Portuguese copy of the document in the Bibliotheca de Evora, which did not clear up the matter of authorship in any way, for it also was anonymous, Capistrano de Abreu proved Cardim to be its author by comparison with Cardim's already known *Narrativa Epistolar,* and on the basis of circumstantial evidence as well. The first clue was revealed when Varnhagen published the *Narrativa Epistolar* of Cardim in 1847. Identity of expressions and phrases with the *Treatise* published by Purchas were evidence that the works were from the pen of the same author. This was even more convincingly established when Capistrano de Abreu came upon the Portuguese copy of the first of the two documents contained in Purchas' *Treatise* (Purchas published the two tracts under that one title), for the frequent identity of wording and phraseology became even more obvious.

---

[47] *Ibid.,* XVI, 417-418.

[48] This introduction, first published in 1881, is reproduced in Cardim, *Tratados,* 131-141, and in Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e Estudos,* I, 177-191.

In his study of the problem in the introduction to his edition of the document, cited above, Capistrano places in parallel columns the similar, and in some cases identical, passages contained in the two treatises. Capistrano quotes five long passages to prove his point, and as he states, anyone who has read the two documents has recognized others. The additional circumstantial evidence referred to is the manner in which, and the time when, the *Treatise* published by Purchas was obtained, as Purchas himself relates in the passage quoted above. It will be recalled, by comparison between the biographical data on Cardim given in the earlier pages of the present study, and the above citation from Purchas, that the year 1601, in which the *Treatise* was obtained by the pirate Cooke from a Jesuit, was precisely the year Cardim was captured by an English pirate while on his way to Brazil, and taken prisoner to England. Furthermore, the document reveals that at least part of it was written in 1584, at which time Cardim had been in Brazil as secretary to the Jesuit Visitor Gouveia.

The same year that Capistrano published his critical edition of the *Do Principio e Origem dos Indios do Brasil,* and in which he proved Cardim to be the author of the work, Fernando Mendes de Almeida began publishing in the *Revista Mensal da Secção da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa no Rio de Janeiro,* the second of the two tracts published in Hakluyt's *Treatise,* namely, *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil,* on the basis of a Portuguese manuscript copy which was also found in the Bibliotheca de Evora, although in a separate manuscript. Finally, in 1885, Almeida published the entire document, as a unit, in the same *Revista,* with an introduction and notes. As in the case of Capistrano's edition, it was carefully compared with Purchas' version, and a number of corrections appeared. Through comparison with the *Narrativa Epistolar,* Capistrano also indicated in parallel columns the similarities of phrases and passages in the *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil* as found in Almeida's manuscript, and clearly proved Cardim's authorship of it as well.[49]

These last two treatises of Cardim, first published under a single title by Purchas in 1625, are important sources of information on sixteenth-century Brazil. Unlike the *Narrativa Epistolar,* delightfully and brilliantly written in the form of two letters, these two treatises are more precise and encyclopaedic, dealing specifically with the topics under discussion, strictly objective and factual. He compiled his treatises with keen humanistic vision, and with the method of a scientific historian of the present day, that is, after careful study and comparison of his data with other previously gathered data on the subject. He had opportunity to study such materials in the Jesuit archives of Brazil and Rome, and undoubtedly utilized these materials to round out his own syntheses. Evidence of borrowings from Anchieta's writings, and those of other confreres, are obvious to any careful reader of the documents.[50]

---

[49] Cf. *ibid.*

The *Do Principio e Origem dos Indios do Brasil,* or Of the Beginnings and Origin of the Indians of Brazil, treats of the following main topics: their knowledge of the Creator; marriage customs; manner of eating, drinking, sleeping, and dressing; their homes; childbirth; their custom of welcoming guests; their custom of smoking tobacco; methods of payments and husbandry; jewels and finery worn; the position of the women; dances and songs; burials; tools; weapons; their custom of killing and eating human flesh; burial ceremonies and marks necessary for proof of valor; diversity of tribes and languages. The principal topics discussed in the treatise *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil,* or Of the Climate and Land of Brazil, are the following: climate and topography; animals; unpoisonous land snakes; poisonous snakes, scorpions, lizards, spiders, etc.; birds; fruit trees; medicinal trees; oils used by the Indians to anoint themselves; the tree that has water; trees that serve for timber; herbs that yield fruit and are eaten; medicinal herbs; the peculiar smell and characteristics of certain plants; canes; salt-water fish; poisonous fish; mermen and monsters of the sea; shell fishes and crabs; trees that grow in salt water; birds that feed and are found in salt water; fresh rivers and what is in them; fresh water snakes; water lizards and monsters; animals, trees, and plants from Portugal that breed and grow well in Brazil. As Rodolfo Garcia has noted, in these treatises Cardim shows his acquaintance with the best scientific knowledge of his day. In his treatment of medicinal trees Cardim cites the pioneer work of the Spanish doctor and naturalist Nicolás Monardes (1493-1588), entitled *Primera y segunda y tercera partes de la historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, que sirven en medicina, etc.,*

---

[50] On the as yet unsolved interrelationships between the writings of Anchieta and Cardim on some points, cf. especially António de Alcantara Machado's scholarly comments in *Cartas Jesuíticas,* III, 437-440, note 456.

Sevilla, 1574. Rodolfo Garcia has found that the treatise *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil* also shows familiarity with the medical studies of Clusius, Garcia da Orta, and others.[51]

Cardim left nothing in print when he died, and would have been very surprised had he known that the very year of his death, in 1625, some manuscript treatises compiled by him and lost to English pirates in 1601, were being published in English translation, and soon were to be known all over the world. Finally, the three finest works of Cardim, described above, have been published together in the well-nigh definitive Brazilian edition necessarily cited so many times in these pages, with its scholarly and painstaking introductions and notes by Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolfo Garcia,[52] all three scholars born and reared in the land which, though still in its early pioneering period when Cardim wrote, was correctly described by him as even then well on its way toward becoming "another Portugal": "Este Brasil he já outro Portugal" . . . "Em fim esta terra parece um novo Portugal."[53]

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

---

[51] For fuller bibliographical data on this subject cf. Rodolfo Garcia's notes and comments in Cardim, *Tratados,* 25, 55, 109.

[52] Full title cited in footnote 11, above. There are several erroneous statements in Alan K. Manchester's bibliographical comments regarding the first published critical editions of Cardim's writings. "Descriptive Bibliography of the Brazilian Section of the Duke University Library," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* XIII (May and November 1933), reprint, 69, 18, and 18, note 32.

[53] Cardim, *Tratados,* 91, 315. Of Cardim's lesser writings the following are worthy of mention:

TREATISE. "Articles touching on the duties of the Kings Majestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill." This treatise was obtained by Purchas along with the others seized by the pirate Cooke in 1601 (*Purchas his Pilgrimes,* XVI, 418), was attributed by him to the author of the others (*ibid.,* 503), since identified as Cardim, and was published by him in 1625 along with the other treatises (*ibid.,* 503-517). No Portuguese version of this document has yet been found. In view of the circumstances under which it was obtained and published by Purchas, Rodolfo Garcia believes that it was probably written by Cardim (Cardim, *Tratados,* 25).

LETTERS and REPORTS. Of Cardim's unpublished letters, most of which are contained in the Jesuit archives of Rome, the following have been utilized and cited by historians (the titles are listed here as cited by the various authors, and are not complete in every case): letter referring to conditions in Ilhéus in 1604, in Anchivum Societatis Iesu Romanum (ASIR), *Brasilia (Bras.),* 8, 49v (cited in Leite, *História,* I, 196); letter to Aquaviva, Bahia, September 1, 1604, ASIR, *Bras.,* 5, 55v-56 (cited in Leite, *História,* II, 306, note 2, and 423, note 4); letter to Aquaviva, Bahia, May 8, 1606 (cited by Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados,* 16); testimony on the need of defending the coast of Brazil from the Dutch, October 1, 1618 (cited by Varnhagen, *História,* third edition, II, 198, note 88, as having been consulted by him in the Academy of History in Madrid, but which is no longer to be found there according to Rodolfo Garcia, *ibid.*).

The Padre of the Magic Shoes

Mexico is a land of a thousand legends. Some of the charming traditions are known nationally, others have credence regionally, many are purely local, but all are as highly colorful as they are deeply cherished by the peoples of mountain and desert. Apart from certain of the legends which are obvious superstitions the great majority of them have some foundations in actual happenings of bygone ages. Sifting the folklore materials for the facts, paring the accumulation of detail and exaggeration for the core of the story is no slight task for the historian, and many times leaves him unsatisfied.

Famous in folklore are the appearances of the Virgin and those of the Lady in Blue. In many places saints are reputed to have appeared. Over and above these legends which command the veneration of the faithful people, there are those pertaining to men and women of the past. Fathers of families have handed down to their sons through an unbroken succession of generations verbal accounts of great figures whose deeds have become hallowed memories. The heroic penances of Fray Margil are traditional along the east coast of Mexico and in Texas. In the state of Michoacán the natives recall their Bishop Quiroga as the one who taught them their arts and crafts in the sixteenth century. In our own California of the west the name of Fray Junípero Serra is enshrined in history and enhanced in legend. Among the lesser known of the colonial characters whose names are associated in the popular mind with truly apostolic labors and miraculous deeds is Father Glandorff, "the padre of the magic shoes."[1]

Francis Herman Glandorff was a native of Osterkappeln, diocese of Osnabrück, in northwestern Germany.[2] Born there of distinguished parentage on October 28, 1687, he grew up in influential surroundings. His relatives were political administrators, the nobles of the oligarchy. His antecedents and circumstances of life had no negative influence upon his character or upon his personal bents, for he constantly spent his time aiding poverty-stricken people of the city. In his early days at college the strictness of his morals and habits earned him the title of "the student apostle."[3] He entered the Society of Jesus at Treves May 23, 1708, when he was twenty-one, and took his first vows May 24, 1710. His juniorate he made at Geist in Westphalia and he taught at the Jesuit college in Tülich from 1711 to 1716. As he had already enjoyed a course of philosophy before becoming a Jesuit he went immediately from teaching to his theology, which he began at Paderborn in 1716.[4] He did so well in his theology that his local superiors destined him for historical research as a collaborator with the Bolandists even before he was ordained.[5] But the General of the Jesuits, Father Michael Tamburini, allowed him to follow another invitation of his ardent spirit and to go as a missionary to the New World. From now on the great Xavier was to be his model and his patron. Glandorff sailed from Amsterdam for Cádiz on March 26, 1718, and thence to the New World where he arrived in the latter part of that same year.[6]

---

[1] Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom,* New York, 1936, 10, 22.

[2] There are several short sketches of Glandorff which might be cited though they are essentially of the edifying type: *Carta del P. Bartolomé Braun, Visitador . . ., sobre la Apostólica Vida, Virtudes, y Santa Muerte del Padre Francisco Hermano Glandorff,* written in Mexico, 1764; José Mariano Dávila y Arrillaga, *Continuación de la História de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España del Padre Francisco J. Alegre,* Puebla, Mexico, 1888, I, 184-188; Silvestre Terrazas, "El Gran Sabio y Santo Padre Glandorf en Chihuahua," *Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estúdios Históricos,* II and III (July-December 1940), 375 et seq.; Manuel Piñan, S. J., *Algunos Apuntos Relativos al Venerable Padre Glandorff, misionero que fué de la Tarahumara en el Estado de Chihuahua, México,* MS., March 1, 1918; *Relación* of Fray Antonio de la Luz Esparza, MS., August 28, 1890. These last two rest in the Jesuit archives, Ysleta, Texas; cf. Gerard Decorme, S. J., *La Obra de los Jesuítas durante la Época Colonial,* Mexico, 1941, II, 308.

Brother Francis arrived at Vera Cruz in 1718, and from then on he was an American. He immediately began to ask where he might find barbarians to evangelize. However, he had first to finish his course in theology before betaking himself to the gentiles. Therefore he studied in the Mexican center of colonial education, the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City, prior to receiving sacred orders there in 1720. He completed his training as a Jesuit with a year of tertianship and in 1721 made his solemn profession by taking the four vows of religion.

Not much time elapsed before Father Glandorff took the thousand mile trail north and west from Mexico City to the land of the Tarahumar Indians. At the end of 1721 he arrived at what was to be his homeland for over forty years,[7] and had the good fortune to be greeted at Cárichic by Father Joseph Neumann, superior of all the Jesuit missions of that region, now mellow with experience and age.

---

[3] Dávila y Arrillaga, I, 185.

[4] Letter of Father Kempf to the Mexican Provincial, Bonifatiushaus, June 20, 1917, Ysleta archives.

[5] Dávila y Arrillaga, I, 185.

[6] Kempf to the Provincial, June 20, 1917.

[7] Letter of January 18, 1752, from Tomochic to Father Sixtus Hesselmeier where Glandorff says it is now thirty years and more since he began to live among the Indians. Cf. *Hauptstaatsarchiv,* Munich, *Jesuitica,* 283. Transcripts in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

Under the tutelage of the celebrated old missionary young Father Glandorff soon learned the language of the land so that he could speak it like a native. The Indian ways and the cautions of the pioneers were well considered by him. He studied the topography of the frontier around Cárichic, one of the northern outposts of New Spain, baptized infants both here and at Pasigochic, and then he moved on to Tomochic on the fringe of civilization.[8]

The chief identification mark of the scene of his labors would be the present city of Chihuahua, two hundred forty miles directly south of El Paso, Texas. A radius extending like a fan from Chihuahua as its center south, southwest and west for one hundred fifty miles would include most of the country of the ancient Tarahumares. Cárichic where Glandorff first labored is about eighty miles as the crow flies southwest, while Tomochic, where the apostle spent most of his life, is nearly a hundred twenty-five miles almost due west.

Riding out of Chihuahua the traveler of today skirts the edges of spacious valleys, winds his way over barren sierras, and emerges at last into a wide, irregular, and seemingly endless plain, with distant peaks rising from its bosom and bold sierras delimiting its vast expanse. Far off to the southwest, through an atmosphere of crystal clearness, the blue ridge is descried which closes to the south the Valle de Papigochic, ancient habitat of the more northern Tarahumar Indians. This beautiful and fertile valley is famed in mission history. Here Jesuit martyrs fell: Cornelio Beudin in 1650, Jácome Basilio in 1652, and, not far away to the west, Juan Ortiz Foronda and Manuel Sánchez in 1692. South from the Valle de Papigochic over the blue sierra with its flanks and canyons clothed in pine there reposed in a far sequestered vale the Indian village of Tomochic, watered by its *río*. Here did Glandorff live and die; this vale and its surrounding rugged ridges did Glandorff spiritually feed and sanctify.

A large part of the northern Tarahumar country had been pretty well organized by the missionaries, especially by Father

---

[8] The spot at Cárichic where Glandorff is said to have lived is still pointed out with pride by natives.

Tomás de Guadalajara, as early as 1675,[9] but it was left for Glandorff to organize the wild and lonely country of Tomochic. Here in hazardous surroundings the missionary spent his decades winning a new fringe for civilization. Here he achieved fame for holiness, and, among the Indians, legendary repute for his prowess as a mountaineer in the pine-clothed ranges, especially because of his endurance and fleetness of foot.

It was in 1722 or 1723 when Glandorff first saw this country and began to evangelize the natives, taking up his abode with them here and organizing them into village life, and we know from his letter of 1730 that the mission was then functioning smoothly.[10] He had been sent by Neumann, probably in accord with his desires, to this particularly isolated and rough country. Its inhabitants, scattered over great distances in impossible places, were barbarous, ignorant, and resigned to their brutish habits. It was the achievement of Glandorff to pluck them out of their caves, to establish a center of civilization at Tomochic, to instruct them in Christianity, to teach them how to sustain themselves as civilized people, and ultimately to make the thorny land "a garden, flowering in Christian virtue."[11] He became, like his confrères, a farmer and cattleman, directing the cultivation of lands and flocks. He was the school teacher of the children, the catechist of the adult gentiles in mountain *rancherías,* the pastor of the reduced natives. He drew the wild Indians to village life and there taught them to build homes. His constant care was his flock in the Tomochic community. He sat at the pallets of the sick, aiding them by prayers and medications, and, it is said, he cured many by the imposition of his hands.

In spite of personal difficulties, illness, and pestilences, Glandorff saw his mission in the whole *partido* grow. His first report on progress was in 1730. Where before there had been seventeen Christians there were now one hundred forty. A second settlement had grown from sixty to two hundred fifty. Within a few years he built five churches in the five pueblos which he had organized and named Santa María Immaculata, San Miguel, San

---

[9] For Tomás de Guadalajara cf. Peter M. Dunne, "Tomás de Guadalajara, Missionary of the Tarahumares," MID-AMERICA, XXIII (April 1941), 272-287.

[10] Francisco R. Almada gives 1722 as the date of Glandorff's entrance to Tomochic, cf. *La Rebelión de Tomochi,* Chihuahua, 1938, 6, while Father Gerard Decorme, S. J., gives the following year, cf. *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos,* Mexico, 1941, II, 302. Glandorff describes the state of his mission in the *Anua misionis Tomochensis* under date of August 16, 1730.

[11] Dávila y Arrillaga, I, 185.

José, San Luis de Gonzaga, and Santa María Aranzassassana.[12] By the end of 1730 he was attending 1,575 Christian Indians and had witnessed the marriages of 661 pairs. He had reclaimed from servitude almost one hundred. A few incorrigibles had been expelled, whom the Spaniards seized with their wives for forced labor in a near-by silver mine. Sadly enough, but inevitably as most mission records show, a plague striking two pueblos carried off 800 infants and 664 adults.[13]

The Tarahumares are remarkable among western Indians for their astonishing endurance as walkers and runners. With great speed of foot and lithe agility they scrambled up declivities, through ravines, and along mountain ledges like wild mountain goats. Their reputation is sustained even today. It is a common sight in Mexico to see the poor Indian trudge along the road almost painfully. Not so the Tarahumar. We have seen a pair of stalwart, half-naked Tarahumares break into the type of running which has brought fame to their race and legend to their history. Yet Glandorff among these swift, indefatigable tribesmen gained a name superior to all, in fact and in legend. Missionaries and Indians alike marveled at his speed and endurance. In short, the quickness of his goings and comings was regarded as altogether miraculous. Some attributed the quality of his speed to his moccasins, for once, it was said, when he had worn down his native companion to complete collapse, he put his own shoes upon the feet of the exhausted man, who was immediately revived and rendered unweary for the rest of the way. This happened more than once.[14] Little wonder then that the Indians, accepting what Bolton calls "the diverting legend," thought that Glandorff wore magic shoes.

Two Franciscan fathers put the truth of his alleged speed to the test. One, Fray Miguel Domínguez, later swore to the following: He saw Father Glandorff leave at eight one morning to call upon a sick person. He saw the father back again at noon. The two Franciscans wishing to ascertain the distance traveled, indicated to Glandorff that they too desired to visit the home of the sick. The Jesuit let them have horses for the journey. The mounted Franciscans rode the whole of one day, arriving only after dark at the place to which Glandorff had gone afoot, had visited and had returned from in four hours.[15]

---

[12] Glandorff to Hesselmeier, January 18, 1752.

[13] *Anua misionis Tomochensis.*

[14] Bolton, *Rim of Christendom,* 22, citing Braun's *Carta.*

[15] Braun, *Carta.*

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pious Christian had an exaggerated belief in marvels, and a touch of the miraculous appeared certain to the popular and ecclesiastical mind when such phenomena were reported and then passed on with not undiminished color. Within a year of the death of Glandorff, the Bishop of Durango, Señor Don José Antonio Zubiriá, going to the scenes of the missionary's labors, gathered up materials for a diffuse *carta* regarding his life and virtues.[16] The Black Robe's superior, Bartolomé Braun, whose glowing account has already been cited, mentions a number of miracles. Nothing, according to Braun, stopped Glandorff, neither rain nor snow, through which he could travel without wetting his head or feet. He would labor through the swirling waters of swollen rivers without concern and emerge dry on the opposite bank. Even the dead rose up to speak in his presence, and to crown the pyramid of wonders, Father Braun records, the holy man prophesied the time of his own death.

There were other miracles. Even the muleteers today in the mountainous Chihuahua country of the southwest recount how he saved the lives of two *arrieros* who were traveling near Tomochic. Close to death from hunger they chanced upon the holy missionary asking him for food. The father's reply was to point out to them a hill not far distant, and he said that behind that hill the muleteers would come upon some trees loaded with fruit. "Eat what you can of it," said the padre, "and carry away what you want." The hungry men found the trees according to Glandorff's word; they satisfied their hunger proclaiming the fruit most delicious. Later on returning that way they again looked for the trees and for the fruit. They found neither the one nor the other.[17] It is interesting to note that in the Tarahumar country today the ancient missionary is universally spoken of by the Indians as José and not Francisco.

Glandorff's own letters added to his fame, for they were copied and handed about even in Europe. In this wise Father Antonio Benz, a Bavarian, heard of Glandorff before he arrived in New Spain. Benz wrote many letters on his way from Munich to Sonora. In one he describes how he heard of the wonder-worker while awaiting a boat in the port of Santa María, Spain. To a priest friend in Germany Benz recounts, October 4, 1749, an incident from a Glandorff letter.[18] We have news, he says, from Taroma (meaning Tarahumara) and from Father Glandorg (meaning Glandorff). A woman named Anastasia had died and was being buried by the missionary. While the burial rites were being conducted the woman spoke from her casket describing her state of soul at the moment. "Oh how beautiful is the house of God, which we shall enter soon after death," were the words heard by the mourners. Glandorff, however, in a letter to a fellow Jesuit, Sixtus Hesselmeier, former provincial of the Lower Rhine, dated January 18, 1752, gives a longer version of the speech: "Oh how beautiful are the tabernacles of God placed far beyond the stars. I could never have believed it. Soon you will see it with your own eyes." And the padre further relates a second instance of speech after death, when three of his neophytes, Basil, Ignatius, and Francis, opened their eyes on his approach and invoked the name of Jesus.[19] The words of the woman called Anastasia (or María) are repeated in various versions several times throughout the sources.

---

[16] Dávila y Arrillaga, I, 184.

[17] Piñan, *Algunos Apuntes . . .*, Ysleta archives.

Benz gave Glandorff the highest praise, saying he was regarded as a saint.

> He never drinks wine, he never rides, but without fatigue he covers often in one day thirty or more leagues. He had once to visit the mountains on horseback, but he was so sick that he had to be taken down from the horse. He began to walk, his strength returned, and soon he went faster than those riding.[20]

One morning after Mass, writes Benz, Glandorff started out on foot for another pueblo twelve miles distant to say a second Mass. A horse was offered him, which he refused. His neophytes took the horse and went thither themselves. Arriving, they met Glandorff issuing from the church, his second Mass already said. Miracle or no miracle, for one can dally along the road on horseback, the incident shows that long before his death the legend of swift-footedness was attached to the name of Glandorff.

When Glandorff told of miracles in his letters the holy man had no intentions of self-glorification. He realized that he was an instrument of the Lord. The edifying episodes were faith-enkindling in others, and inspirations to the missionaries. His life belies vainglory, since it was one of complete faith and selfsacrifice. He might have remained with kindred in Germany to assume in time important offices of administration, and he might, after becoming a Jesuit, have been a scholar of renown or a professor. He chose to work with a benighted people far from acclaim. Even in the midst of his arduous missionary work he was practically an anchorite as far as affairs of the world were concerned. He spent days in great austerity, regularly going apart from humankind into the mountains to pray and fast. In upper Tarahumara there is a ragged canyon, the Cañón de la Banderilla, where one can see the cave in which the padre was supposed to have prayed, *la cueva del Padre Glandorff*.[21] The Indians thought his conversations were always with the Creator: "He is the father who ever speaks of the place above."[22]

---

[18] *Hauptstaatsarchiv,* Munich, *Jesuitica,* 294. Transcripts in Bancroft Library.

[19] Glandorff to Hesselmeier.

[20] Letter of Benz, October 4, 1749.

Although away from learned men and college halls Glandorff kept his intellect clear and sharp. He is said to have memorized many of the voluminous works of Francis Suárez, the philosopher and theologian. He acquired great facility in composing Latin verses, and practiced his prose Latin until he was eloquent in the tongue. Judging from results he was an eminent student of native psychology and had a keen ability to penetrate difficulties of conscience. Priests, laymen, and Indians sought him frequently for consultation and advice. He became the great consoler of all afflicted in the mountain region.[23]

If the missionary was, as alleged, befriended by heaven with wonders and miracles he was also harried by the demons of hell. To Father Hesselmeier, January 12, 1752, Glandorff wrote:

> The church bell would ring during the night and even in the day; in the vestibule would be heard the noise of people jumping; the whole house would roar, doors and windows would fly open. Only my living room was free from these horrors. Perhaps they (the demons) were endeavoring to eject me from this land in which they have enjoyed long rights of prescription.

He was led, finally, to follow the advice of a sage, older missionary, Constantine Gallerati, who had been similarly tormented. He faced the evil spirits with the exorcisms of the Church. The ancient prayers were intoned and the solemn ritual for the expulsion of demons was followed. When the spirits were commanded in the name of the Almighty Master of creation to recede, the padre writes, "they seem to have obeyed, for they never again bothered me."

---

[21] Terrazas, *loc. cit.*
[22] Dávila y Arrillaga, I, 185.
[23] *Ibid.*

The menace of the Apaches was one of the worries of Glandorff.[24] These unconquerables were already a plague to the people of the northern area beyond the Tarahumar region. One of Glandorff's neophytes admitted that he had been among the marauders and had seen there many Tarahumares living in paganism like wild beasts. The renegade Tarahumares acted the traitor's part when they served as guides for the Apaches on raids into their homeland. Glandorff was alarmed. He wrote of the danger to his superiors and to the viceroy. When desertions of Tarahumares continued and so too the raids the devoted padre brooded sorrowfully over the evil until his death; no action was taken by the government against the abuse.

Any injustice caused bitter pain to the heart of Glandorff. Cases where he immediately took up cudgels against what he considered wrongs are revealed in letters written to his superiors.[25] One defense was occasioned by some misunderstandings which arose at times between native-born Mexican Jesuits and those of European origin. The domestic difficulty is readily understandable, for the missionaries were men, after all, and hence might "get on each other's nerves" occasionally. This friction between Creole and European was not new in the Jesuit Province of New Spain.[26] Glandorff, especially as he aged, does not seem to have been immune to touchiness and irritation. He felt, according to his letters, that he and other Europeans were being complained against by native-born superiors, and, if his remarks are taken literally, he felt very strongly about it all. Once he wrote to the provincial: "If the fathers of this country wish to devour the fathers from over seas why do they ask for them at Rome?" And he averred that the Europeans would be justified in complaining to the Father General that he had sent them "as lambs among wolves."[27] He resented the removal by the Visitor Carlos de Rojas of the Italian rector, Cristóbal de Lauria. He wrote to his provincial on September 15, 1749, asking for a rectification of the injustice to Lauria, who had been both deposed and sent to a ruined mission. On the other hand his sense of fairness led him to attack the actions of Father Cosío, who was a Lombard, and to defend staunchly Father Andonaegui, who was a Creole.

---

[24] Braun, *Carta.*

[25] There are extant seven letters of Glandorff to his superiors written between 1746 and 1749. These are to be found in A. G. N., *Historia, tomo* 309 and 333. Transcripts made by Father Mariano Cuevas rest in the Jesuit archives, Ysleta, Texas.

[26] *Colección de Cartas Inéditas, passim,* Ysleta archives.

[27] Glandorff from Tomochic to the provincial, Andrés Xavier García, September 15, 1749.

This Cosío affair was one of apparent mistreatment of the Indians, of whose rights Glandorff was the avowed guardian. It went as follows. A certain Captain Mendía arrived at Tomochic with soldiers and other Spaniards for the purpose of removing some of Glandorff's neophytes from the *partido* of Tomochic to that of Papigochic. This move, avers Glandorff in a letter of 1747 to the visitor, was at the instance of Father Domingo de Cosío, one of his fellow missionaries. Glandorff objected strenuously. He presented the captain with official documents issuing from the court at Madrid which forbade such removals and mistreatment of Indians. The captain made a copy of the decrees and wrote to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya concerning the whole case. But his letter never reached its destination, and Glandorff suspected Father Palma, the superior, and Cosío of having it held up.[28]

The aging padre was further irritated by Cosío when the latter took over some land which the Indians used for planting crops, and made the district a grazing place for the flocks and herds of his mission. Glandorff, like the neophytes, was highly indignant. "What superior," he exclaims, "has thus given permission to sell the lands of the Church." He recalls an incident of his patron Francis Xavier when the saint rebuked a missionary in India for injustice to a native, and adds: "What would he [Xavier] say if he saw what was going on here. . . . Alas, life has become a bitterness to me and my natural powers prepare themselves for death. God's will be done."[29] Glandorff might well have taken comfort in knowing that the government officials of Nueva Vizcaya shared his attitude of mind regarding abuses. Already in 1744 the governor had indited a long memorial to the viceroy condemning the actions of mine owners and ranchers.[30] The *cédulas* of His Majesty containing all remedies desired by Glandorff were not obeyed. Decadent Spain was unable to enforce such beneficial legislation in so remote a province.

---

[28] Letter of February 2, 1747.

[29] The final parts of this letter are lost and there is no date.

[30] The governor first quotes the royal *cédulas:* the Indians are not to be forced to travel to their place of employment more than five leagues a day; they must be given food on the journey; they must be properly paid. The governor then offers twelve points for the alleviation of the lot of the Indians: they must live in pueblos, have lands of their own, enjoy a school in each pueblo; they may not roam from one village to another, they may not be drafted for labor outside the specified seasons; let one-third of a pueblo be taken for a shift of one month; on the way to work the commands of the

Such passages taken from the letters of a reputedly holy man and zealous missionary are replete with historical significance; they help to illuminate our interpretation of the past. It was the antagonism of the native-born American, the Creole or the Mestizo, to the European, which in large measure set off the spark of the revolution, the movement for independence in 1810. Bolívar, San Martín, Miranda, Hidalgo, these resented rule from Europe and the official prestige of Europeans in America. We are reminded of the battle cry of Hidalgo's disorderly array: "Death to the Gachupines." Glandorff was a European and the native Americans seem at times to have resented his presence among them. True, the Europeans were often more vigorous and successful. This would not help matters; rather would it exacerbate the irritation. Such sporadic friction between two different types within the Jesuit Order helps us to understand the irritation of the Creole against the Spaniard and this gave important impulse to the war for independence.

While Father Francis was seeking these redresses an important development took place to the south and west which affected some of the Tarahumar missions: twenty-two of them were given over to the care of the diocesan clergy. From the beginning of the Jesuit mission system of the west coast in North America it had been the intention of the Fathers General to relinquish missions into the hands of the diocesan bishop whenever the neophytes were thought fit to dispense with the tutelage of the missionaries. Jesuits would then be released to carry the gospel into fields farther on. Thus in the 1740's they were ready and eager to penetrate farther north into upper Pimería and beyond the Río Colorado into Alta California. In 1746 the Jesuit provincial of New Spain, Cristóbal de Escobar, suggested the secularization of the twenty-two missions in the districts of Topia, the Tepehuán country, and in lower Tarahumara. The correspondence resulting from this suggestion went on for several years, and it was not until 1753 that the establishments were given over to the Bishop of Durango. A careful inventory of each church, residence, and mission prop-

---

King are to be followed; let the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya supervise in these matters the actions of ranchers, miners, captains, and alcaldes. Cf. *Consulta al Señor Virrey del Gobernador de Chihuahua sobre la moderación de los mandamientos, San Felipe el Real,* September 1, 1744, published in *Doc. Hist. Mex.,* ser. 4, vol. 4, pp. 39 ff.

erty was made and has been preserved so that we can now know exactly what each mission possessed.[31]

But Glandorff remained at Tomochic. His missions and his work had been caught up in wider movements. The *partido* of Tomochic had served well as a frontier institution. During the ten years that remained to him of life he could watch the efforts made for the advance of the missions toward what is now the western lands of the United States. At the end of the decade fifty pueblos in Tarahumara Alta were attended by the Jesuits, and four years later, 1767, the year of the expulsion of the padres, there were nineteen fathers serving nineteen *partidos*.

The padre of the magic shoes passed away in his beloved mission of Tomochic on August 9, 1763, being within ten weeks of his seventy-sixth birthday. His last forty-two years had been spent with the Tarahumares. Attacked by a fatal infirmity he remained despite protests in his bare hut, without other companionship than an Indian. When death seemed very near he sent for some Jesuit missionaries to administer the last rites. With his eyes fixed on heaven and with crucifix in his hands he commended himself to God.

During the almost two centuries since his death there have been many intermittent notices of Father Glandorff, which with a constant flow of tradition among the Tarahumares have kept his memory alive.[32] The sixteenth bishop of Durango, Pedro

---

[31] Cf. A. G. I., *Aud. de Guadalajara,* 67-4-2. Transcripts in the Bancroft Library. These inventories are most painstaking and minute. An example can be the mission church of Satevó. Every single article of the church, sacristy, and father's dwelling is enumerated and often described. A hundred odd pieces of all kinds are listed for the body of the church alone which contained "four hundred and forty-two pounds and two and a half ounces weight of ornaments and decorations in silver most of which are gilded." Similar minute inventories may be found in A. G. N., *Archivo Histórico de Hacienda.*

[32] In the Jesuit archives, Ysleta, Texas, are copies or originals of the following Glandorff correspondence: Letter of the Jesuit Mexican Provincial José Alzola, 1897, requesting the body of Glandorff, and the reply of the Franciscan superior of Zacatecas, Fray Angel Tiscareño, December 17, 1897; ten letters from Holland, Heerenberg, and Valkenburg, by Constantin Kempf, S. J., to the Mexican provincial, Crivelli, written between 1916 and 1922; one from Cologne by Johannes Gross, S. J., to Crivelli, May 16, 1920; two letters of Bonaventura, Bishop of Zacatecas; one to Windthorst, perhaps Bishop of Hanover, and another to the Bishop of Osnabrück, both undated; a letter of Miguel, Bishop of Zacatecas to Crivelli, December 5, 1921; a letter of Crivelli concerning the transfer of the remains, April 18, 1922; finally a longer notice dated August 28, 1890, of Fray Angel de los Dolores Tiscareño, superior of the Franciscans at Zacatecas, telling of the transfer of Glandorff's body from Tarahumara, of the condition of the remains and other information concerning the holy man. In some of these latter notices I have been aided by the researches in the Ysleta archives of Father John F. Bannon, S. J., St. Louis University.

Tamarón y Romeral, holding office from 1759 to 1768, has a passage concerning our missionary in his *Diario de Visita o Descripción del Obispado de Durango;* while the twenty-third bishop, López de Zubiría y Escalante (1831-1862) collected copious material about Glandorff.[33] In the first decade of the same century a Franciscan, Fray Justo Arizorena, working in Tarahumara recounts the still-living tradition of Glandorff's causing the dead to speak.[34] A German traveler in northern Mexico in the 1880's, Baron de Brackel-Welda, gathered data concerning our padre and published his material in various periodicals in Germany between 1890 and 1894. One of these articles seems to have found its way into the Wahrheits-Freund for September 17, 1890, published in Cincinnati, Ohio.

At this time and also later the German Jesuits were gathering material for a biography of Glandorff with the intention of eventually having his cause introduced at Rome for beatification and canonization. In 1921 a novena was composed in honor of our padre by Father Martin Habig, a Jesuit of the Mexican Province, now at Ysleta, Texas.[35]

German churchmen since become famous for their opposition to dictatorship were interested in the cause of Glandorff's official recognition by the Church. Bishop Berning of Osnabrück at a meeting of the German hierarchy at Fulda in 1922 proposed that their support be given to the cause of Glandorff. A document to this effect was drawn up and signed by Berning and by the great Cardinal Faulhaber, representing the bishops of Bavaria.[36] In concert with this action Bishop Bonaventura of Zacatecas in a letter to the Bishop of Osnabrück shows himself in accord with the German bishops and assures them that the Mexican bishops of Puebla, Durango, Guadalajara, and Mexico will lend their moral support.[37] A Jesuit bishop, Dr. Heinrich Doering, retired to Valkenburg, Holland, as a result of World War I, was planning at this time to compose a biography of Glandorff.[38]

During all this time at Tomochic itself the Indians were proud of the tradition of their father and they displayed to a visiting Franciscan missionary in the 1880's baptismal records of the sainted padre entered in his own hand, and they were proud in the possession of the cap and cassock Glandorff used to wear.[39] Unfortunately during the rebellion of 1884 of the whites and Indians of Tomochic against the Mexican government Glandorff's old abode church was used as a fortress by the rebels, and it had to be bombarded, stormed, and taken. None of Glandorff's precious memorials survived the ordeal.[40]

---

[33] Kempf to Mexican Provincial, September 4, 1916.

[34] *Relación* of Fray Antonio de la Luz Esparza. Franciscan superior at Zacatecas, August 28, 1890, Ysleta archives.

[35] Kempf to Mexican Provincial, July 18, 1921. Father Habig worked in Tarahumara in 1920 where he discovered two of Glandorff's baptismal records.

[36] Kempf to Mexican Provincial, October 11, 1922.

[37] Letter in Ysleta archives, no date.

[38] Gross to Mexican Provincial, May 16, 1920.

Some of his letters too are preserved in Europe as well as in America. Mexico City holds at least copies of the letters we have cited, while the archives of Exaten in Holland contain many more.[41] And just as in the Italian Alps Kino's kith and kin still dwell and are proud of the fame of their Jesuit missionary ancestor so at Osterkappeln near Osnabrück Glandorff's relatives still survived in the 1920's and were living in the same home in which our padre was born.[42]

As in Lower California, so in Tarahumara, Jesuits were succeeded by Franciscans, come from the Franciscan Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Zacatecas. These carried on the memory of the sanctity of Glandorff and in 1771 they transferred his remains reverently to their convent in Zacatecas. Here they rested up to the present century, for in 1922 the bones were intact and his religious habit was in good condition, and it was officially reported that a pair of his magic shoes were buried with him.[43] In 1774, March 4, the remains were transferred to a vault in the same convent.[44] A suitable inscription giving the important dates of Glandorff's life was attached to the casket. This was later translated to the Jesuit residence of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles in Mexico City, and there today the bones of the padre of the magic shoes repose.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco
San Francisco, California

---

[39] Piñan, *Algunos Apuntos. . . .*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Kempf to Mexican Provincial, June 20, 1917.
[42] Kempf to Mexican Provincial, July 18, 1921.
[43] Letter of Father Angel Tiscareño from the Zacatecas convent, 1905.
[44] Letter of the Jesuit Provincial, Crivelli, dated April 18, 1922, concerning a further transfer of the remains.

Book Reviews

Canada Moves North. By Richard Finnie. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942. Pp. 227.

Not always do people tend to migrate westward such as is popularly believed. From Mexico during and after the sixteenth century there was a movement northward of Spanish civilization; the Russians during the eighteenth century set a galloping eastward pace across Siberia to Alaska; and now again, as Richard Finnie's book indicates, "Canada Moves North"—north toward the Arctic.

So reminiscent of Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson's many public lectures, Finnie begins his book by excoriating Canadian elementary school textbooks which describe the far north as "the desolate, frozen plains" which "produce little or no vegetation fit for human food." Having thus produced his straw man the author proceeds to rend it asunder. In the first chapter, "Geography," he sets us straight on the topography, the climate, and the human habitation of the Arctic. There follows a brief historical sketch of explorations in the region, after which such subjects as fur trade, missions, administration, transportation, mining, farming, tourist traffic, and culture make up the main body of his book.

The fur trade is still largely dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company and hand in hand with the fur trade goes much of the control of the native Eskimo and Indian life. Suggestive of the earlier days of fur trade in Canada, the influence of the "Honourable Company" is not always honorable. "If the fur trade in the North is placed on a sound scientific basis," concludes Finnie, "it will be a boon to the natives. . . ." But such, one gathers, is not the case.

The work of Christianizing the natives is confined entirely to two denominations, namely, the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. Numerically the majority of the Indians profess Catholicism, while the Eskimos apparently favor the Church of England. In addition to spreading the faith, the missionaries have taken over practically all educational and medical functions. Only in a small way has the Dominion government begun to concern itself with schools and hospitals, which program Finnie favors as indicated in the following summary remarks: "The unbiased observer is therefore led to the conclusion that, while the churches as such need not be interfered with in the North, the natives would be better off if their schools and hospitals were divorced from missionary control, made non-sectarian, and consolidated under a Government agency."

That portion of Mr. Finnie's book dealing with the economic resources and the development of such is particularly illuminating to the lay reader. Quantities of oil, gold, silver, copper, graphite, ochre, brick, pottery clay, mica, gypsum, lime, and radium, he points out, have been uncovered in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of Canada, and steps have been taken to market some of them. In the Great Slave Lake district, for example, no less than $200,000 in gold was produced monthly in the year 1939. Moreover, agriculture and stock raising in the Mackenzie delta, due largely to the fact that the sun operates there on an around-the-clock schedule during the summer months, is potentially able to make the population self-sustaining so far as foodstuffs are concerned.

Taken as a whole, *Canada Moves North* provides light but interesting reading, and its many good illustrations add much to its charm.

Indiana University — Oscar Osburn Winther

The United States and Civilization. By John U. Nef. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942. Pp. xviii, 421.

Professor Nef's latest book is divided into three slightly unequal parts. The first hundred pages offer a rapid survey of the background and large elements of our American civilization. This first part is historical. The next 160 pages discuss the character and ends of civilization in general, under the subheads of humanism, religion, moral philosophy, and art. This part of the book is philosophical. The final 140 pages contain the author's suggestions as to ways and means of improving the civilization of the United States. And this part, I believe, Professor Nef himself would agree in calling utopian. He even offers a hint to that effect in his preliminary quotation from the *Utopia* of St. Thomas More.

All three parts of the book may be summarized, not unfairly, I think, in these propositions:

We have developed in the United States an unbalanced civilization, because we have emphasized our material wants at the expense of our spiritual needs.

That predominance of the material has got into our literature and arts, our schools and churches, and has caused us to substitute partial and fragmentary sciences for the whole science of philosophy, to mistake entertainment for art and even for religion, and thus to narrow our concept of the good life and to lower its level.

We shall not have a sound civilization in the United States until we restore to their proper places in our lives the influence of religion, morality, and art.

Even those who disagree violently with Professor Nef about details of this thesis must admit that his book contains, besides an impressive display of erudition, a great deal of shrewd insight and even of wisdom. Everywhere it is noble and generous in its purposes. If it is more convincing in its exposure of the weaknesses of our civilization than in its positive suggestions for remedying the weaknesses, well, that is a defect which it has in common with nearly every other book that deals with our civilization.

Some of the suggestions, for instance, are empty platitudes. There is no great value in telling us that "if we are to have anything approaching righteous government in the future, honesty and efficiency in the collection of public money will have to replace corruption and inefficiency" (pp. 372-373). Men have known this as long as they have had any government; but they have always been puzzled about how to get the honesty and efficiency.

Some of the suggestions are naïve in their assumption that a nice theory will meet with no obstacles in practice. Thus Professor Nef's theory that the State should endow artists (p. 251) and universities (p. 347), and then keep its hands off, so that the artists and the philosophers could spread beauty and wisdom throughout the nation, is a delightful theory. But the author of the theory, besides assuming that lack of money alone or chiefly hinders the cultural effectiveness of artists and philosophers, seems never to have studied the relations of politicians to the moneys they appropriate through legislation.

In fact, Professor Nef gives one the impression that he has never seriously considered the effects of original sin in fallen men. On the contrary, his suggestions toward improving the civilization of the United States seem to be based upon that sentimental and undying hope of all naturalism, that men will prove to be illimitably perfectible here on this earth, and that we have only to search around for the right *method* in order to win back to our earthly paradise.

But Professor Nef's book, noble and high-purposed as it is, has a defect more fundamental than any of these. This defect is that it seems to assume that civilization is the ultimate end of man. Religion, morality, and art, the decay of which amongst us he laments, are valued in this book as servants and promoters of civilization. In spite of his generous appraisal of man's needs of religion, Professor Nef bluntly assures us that religion "must welcome men into the faith less as a means of saving their souls and more as a means of saving the well-being of suffering and ill-guided humanity" (p. 181).

Nor, I think, is this statement only an unhappy slip. The assumption implied in it runs throughout the book. This assumption is, of course, the kernel of positivism. Some may call it humanism; but it is humanism in its current positivistic form. As such, it is a degradation of that philosophy which Professor Nef praises in Plato, Aristotle, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Even the great pagans did not make man the last measure of things. They knew that civilization too, with all its excellences, must be the servant of the divine purpose in man.

All our noble books have a touch of sadness about them, because all of them hold up ideals which poor fallen men rarely reach. But there is an appalling sadness about these noble books when their ideals are less than the full truth. Men have never wholly accepted even the noblest teaching ever offered them, the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. There was tragedy in the comparative failure of the mission of St. John the Baptist; yet somehow there seems a greater tragedy in the failure of these prophets of a lesser hope, these voices crying in the wilderness: "Make straight the path of the humanist."

W. KANE, S. J.

Loyola University

A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1856. By John Francis McDermott. Washington University Studies (New Series). Language and Literature, No. 12. St. Louis, 1941. Pp. vi, 161.

All those who have to translate French documents written in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries know how much time is often consumed in finding an exactly equivalent English term. The present glossary will be found especially useful for translating words that refer to flora and fauna. Many of the other words or expressions in the glossary, although they do not belong to standard French, can hardly be mistranslated if the writer has a fair knowledge of French, because the context will make the meaning of the word or expression quite clear. The purpose of the compiler was to make more easily accessible to "the student of French culture in the Mississippi Valley," the English equivalent of "words which are, to all except specialists in the French language, obscure, difficult, or commonly confused." Apart from the neglect of context already mentioned, difficulties often arise from the fact that the translators do not take into account the date of the document, that is, whether it was written in the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century; for even in the Mississippi Valley, the meaning of certain words underwent changes during this period. Sometimes mistakes are made because the translator is only superficially acquainted with the history of the period to which the document belongs, or with the geography of that part of the country where it was written, or because he does not take into consideration whether the writer is educated or uneducated. Some documents were written by men and women who barely knew how to write; others indulge in phonetic spelling (Iberville, De Gamon); others sprinkle their French with foreign idioms (Tonti, Vander Heck); some, even among the more educated, omit punctuation (La Salle); or the punctuation which they use (most of the Jesuits) has quite a different force from that of modern French. Finally, they all were indifferent to the rules of grammar. Unless the translator takes these idiosyncracies into account, he will make egregious blunders, even if he should know the present glossary by heart.

Although the period covered is set down as 1673-1850, there are very few references to seventeenth-century writings. As we noted above, the meaning of some words underwent a change. In the seventeenth century, both in Canada and in the Mississippi Valley, the word *"bourgeois,"* for instance, did not necessarily mean "a partner in a company who was in charge of a trading post or expedition"; again, if referring to the language of the seventeenth century, one cannot say that a *"cache"* was not always a hiding place; and it should be noted that *"demoiselle"* or *"damoiselle"* meant not only daughter, but was applied to the wife of well-to-do settlers or traders whose social status was just below that of the nobility. (Cf. C. Huguet, *L'évolution du sens des mots,* s. v., for the usage in France; and see the act of burial of "Damoiselle Claire Bissot, . . . femme de deffunt Le Sieur Louis Jolliet. . . .)

It is arbitrary to give only one value for the league. During the seventeenth century, the value of the league differed widely in the various provinces of France, and the colonists who came to Canada often computed the distances according to the standard in use in their part of the mother country. For instance, one degree of latitude was equivalent to 30 *petites lieues de France,* 24½ *lieues d'Anjou,* 23 *lieues communes du Lyonnois,* etc. The value which is given in this glossary, 2,000 *toises* of six *pieds du Châtelet de Paris each,* is that of the Parisian league of which there were 28¼ to the degree. The *lieues moyennes* of the end of the seventeenth century also called *lieues communes de France,* (2,282 *toises*) numbered 25, and the *lieues marines* numbered 20 to the degree. It is quite clear that one cannot use the fixed value given here, for computing distances covered by French travelers in the Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth. A distinction must be made between landlubbers, like La Salle, Tonti, Perrot, Duluth, or Jolliet at the beginning of his career; and sailors like Iberville and Bienville. It is also necessary to remember that these pioneers evaluated the distances in leagues by "dead reckoning"; and by this method, their calculations between two ascertainable points show such a wide variation, depending on whether they traveled overland, up or down stream, and on whether there were rapids or not, that the only safe procedure is to adopt the average value given to the league by each individual.

The above comments in no way detract from the usefulness of this glossary, which if judiciously consulted will prevent many mistranslations. We might call attention to a mistake in the name of the Jesuit missionary Paul Du Poisson; The "Du"—not "du"—in this case is as much an integral part of his name as the "Mc" is an integral part of McDermott.

JEAN DELANGLEZ, S. J.

Institute of Jesuit History

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941. By Antoine Roy. Quebec, 1941. Pp. viii, 489.

This twenty-first report of the Archivist of the Province of Quebec contains letters of William (Wilhelm) von Moll Berczy to his wife, from 1798 to 1812. This Saxon nobleman first founded a German settlement in the state of New York which lasted until lack of funds forced him and the colonists he had enrolled in Germany to pass to Canada. Here, too, difficulties arose. His colonists abandoned him, he was ruined financially and put in jail for debts. He finally settled in Montreal, where to support his wife and children he became a portrait painter. He died in New York, in February 1813.

A bibliography of Canadian genealogies and family histories makes up the second part of the report. There have been so many genealogical studies during the past fifty years in the Province of Quebec that the archivist thought "it was time to 'take our bearings' by listing all sorts of works published in Canada or abroad which treat of Canadian genealogy." The bibliography is divided into two parts, the first containing the names of the authors, the second, the names of the families, arranged in alphabetical order. M. Antoine Roy must have felt a legitimate filial pride when compiling the first part—his father is the author of 133 genealogial studies.

The third part of the report consists of the second installment of the inventory by the late Abbé Caron, of the documentation relative to the Church in Canada, from 1700 to the end of 1717. (Cf. MID-AMERICA, XXIII (October 1941), 307-308, for comments on the first installment of this inventory.)

In his letter of transmittal to the secretary of the Province of Quebec, the author of the report called attention to the double loss suffered by the Archives during 1941. On October 1, the Abbé Caron, who had been a member of the staff for nearly twenty years, went to his reward. The short tribute which precedes the inventory mentioned above strikes the right note: "Without personal ambition, the Abbé Caron spent his life doing service to others. . . . He communicated notes and references to those who addressed themselves to him, often to the detriment of his own works." The other loss was the forced retirement of M. Pierre-Georges Roy from his position as archivist of the Province of Quebec, owing to his failing eyesight. M. Antoine Roy notes that his father published twenty *Rapports,* and twenty volumes of inventories of archives. If that were the extent of his publications, the indebtedness of students of the history of New France, which in the seventeenth century comprised not only Canada but the American Northwest and the Mississippi Valley as well, would already be great. But in the opinion of the present reviewer, our indebtedness to M. Pierre-Georges Roy is greater still for the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* which he founded in 1895, and to which he contributed countless articles. Those who have used these forty-six volumes know that they are a veritable mine of information which cannot be found anywhere else. His biographical studies are naturally more valuable to Canadians than to Americans, but among the 130 families whose genealogies he traced, there are about twenty whose members have played a prominent part in the history of the Old American Northwest or of the Mississippi Valley.

What M. Antoine Roy says of M. Caron can also be said of his father: He spent his life being of service to others. Of this the present writer has personal proof. The retired archivist's motto seems to have been: "Bis dat, qui cito dat." The field to which M. Pierre-Georges Roy devoted so many years is what the French and the French-Canadians call *la petite histoire*. The editor of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* undertook to defend in the pages of his review this historical genre, which, some have maintained, is "beneath the dignity of history." Homely, minute details, provided they be drawn from contemporary sources, often depict an historical personage or the milieu in which he lived, much better than the long drawn out, wearisome lucubrations we find in the *grande histoire*. With regard to the value of these sources, the testimony of a witness before a court of justice, an account book, a land survey, a notarial act, a revealing inventory, are certainly more trustworthy than the official correspondence of governors, of intendants, of commandants of posts, of petty officers or officials. These manifestly cared less about truth than about their personal advancement or about the triumph of their respective parties. There is really no comparison between the latter self-glorifications full of half-truths, of innuendoes, even of downright lies, and those "minor" documents, which are all the more sincere because their authors did not foresee that they would one day be of use to the historian. To place unbounded confidence in "official" sources of information would be as great an error as to ignore them entirely, for as a rule they only reflect the opinion of one man, of one prejudiced, interested man. To accept blindly what is found in official memoirs, reports, or letters, is tantamount to accepting history readymade, and made, moreover, by those very men who had every reason for handing down to posterity the exact picture, or posture, in which they wished to appear.

JEAN DELANGLEZ, S. J.

Institute of Jesuit History

INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXIV

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed. Clerical titles and titles of honor are found only when the forename is lacking.

Abreu, J. Capistrano de, 6, 8, 38, 264, 265, 266, 268, 271
Adams, John, 91
Adorno, José de, 179, 180
Africa, Portuguese in, 10-11, 235, 261
Almeida, Fernando Mendes de, 269
Alvares, Diogo. *See* Caramurú
American Association for State and Local History, publication of noted, 140
Anchieta, José de, 8, 10, 17, 22, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 48, 53, 54, 57, 169, 179, 180, 181, 183, 188, 189, 195, 197, 199, 212, 216, 254, 257, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 270
Andrade, Fernando Alvares de, 232, 243
Andrade, Perez d', 235
Anganamon, 125-26, 127, 128, 133, 134
Angola, Africa, 261
Apache Indians, 280
Aquaviva, Claude, 22, 30, 31, 36, 58, 119, 122, 258
Aranda, Martín de, 124, 127
Araucanians, 109-37
Arauco, Chile, 112, 124, 125, 132, 133
Arguinzoniz, Mariano de, 100
Aristocracy, Jefferson on, 91-92
Arizorena, Justo, 284
Augustinians, 128, 166
Azevedo, Inácio de, 17, 21, 27, 29, 30, 32, 47, 53, 58, 182, 183, 184, 185, 212, 215
Azevedo, Simão Rodrigues. *See* Rodrigues, Simon
Azores, 230, 246
Bahia, Brazil, 21, 23-24, 31, 40, 41, 44, 54, 55, 161, 164, 165, 167, 171, 172, 181, 182, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 203, 208, 210, 212, 215, 232-33, 234, 236-37, 238, 245, 246, 249, 250, 252, 256, 257, 259, 262
BANNON, JOHN F., revs. Madariaga's *Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico,* 79-80
Barbosa, Rui, 8
Barreiros, D. Antonio, 34
Barreto, Manuel Teles, 31, 33, 34, 37, 42, 48, 59
Barros, Antonio Cardoso de, 232, 239, 242, 243, 247
Barros Arana, Diego, 127
Barros, João de, 232
Basilio, Jácome, 274
Beliarte, Marçal, 40, 57, 215
Bello, Torres, Father, 116
Benz, Antonio, 277, 278
Beudin, Cornelio, 274
Bío-Bío River, 109, 118, 120
Blasquez, António, 202, 204, 210
BLUM, BEATRICE, "Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians," 109-37
Bolandists, 273
Boles, João, 195
Bolton, Herbert E., 276
Bom Jesus, Brazil, 204, 206
Borges, Pero, 242, 247
Borgia, Francis, 27, 30, 182, 184, 212
Botelho, Diogo, 260
Brackel-Welda, Baron de, 284
Branco, Duarte de Castelo, 155
Braun, Bartolomé, 277, 285
Braz, Father, 168
Brazil, 3-26, 27-60, 151-87, 188-216, 229-51, 252-71; Jesuits in, 3-26, 27-60, 151-87, 188-216, 243, 245, 246, 247, 251, 252-71
Brown, Charles, 69-72
Burnett, Edmund Cody, *The Continental Congress,* revd., 75-76
BUTLER, RUTH LAPHAM, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil," 229-51
Cabral, Pedro Alvares, 11, 252
Cabral, Vale, 8
Caetano, Baptista, 264, 271

California State Telegraph Company, 68
Calmon, Pedro, 8
Calogeras, João Pandía, 6
Canada Moves North, by R. Finnie, revd., 286-87
Canfield, C. A., 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106
Canto, Pedro Annes do, 246
Captaincies, system of in Brazil, 230-31, 252
Carampangui, 123, 124
Caramurú (Diogo Alvares), 243, 245, 246
Cardim, Fernão, 31, 38, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 252-71
Cardim, Gaspar Clemente, 255
Cardim, Inez, 255
Cárichic, Mexico, 274
Carijós, 259
Cartas Anuas, 266
Castanheira, Conde de, 235, 236
Castelo, Morro do, 26
Catherine, Queen, 181
Catiray, Chile, 123, 125
Catologo dos Manuscriptos da Bibliotheca Eborense, 265
Caupolicán, 109
Ceará, Brazil, 232, 259, 260, 261
Cerda, Cristóbal de la, 136
Chanslor, J. A., 100
Chihuahua, 274
Chile, Jesuits in, 109-37
Clarke, T. Wood. *Émigrés in the Wilderness,* revd., 143-44
Clowry, Robert C., 66, 68
Coelho, Duarte, 231, 233, 248
Coelho, João, 166
Coimbra, 14-20; *see* University of, 28
Colégio de Jesus da Baía, 16-17, 24
Colégio de Meninos, 25, 165, 168, 170
Colégio de San Pedro y San Pablo, 273
Colégio de São Paulo de Piratininga, 25, 169-70, 178, 180
College of Bragança, 28
College of Evora, 19, 256, 263
College of Lima, 113
College of Olinda, 214
College of Rio de Janeiro, 25
College of San Antonio, 19, 28
College of Santa Barbara, 13, 14, 230
Coming of the Civil War, by A. Craven, revd., 220-21
Concepción, Chile, 109, 114, 122
Congress, and the telegraph, 63-64, 66
Continental Congress, by E. C. Burnett, revd., 75-76
Cook, Francis, 259, 267, 269
Correia, Jorge de Figueiredo, 232
Correia, Pero, 56
Cortés, Hernán, biography of, revd., 79-80
Cortés, Pedro, 129
Cosío, Domingo de, 281
Costa, Duarte da, 23, 25, 151, 169, 174, 189, 191
Costa, Francisco Mendes da, 242
Council of the Indies, 116, 118, 131, 132
Coutinho, Francisco Pereira, 158, 233, 234, 237
Coutinho, João, 235
Coutinho, Vasco Fernandes, 193, 232, 239
Craven, Avery, *The Coming of the Civil War,* revd., 220-21
Creighton, Edward, 61-74
Creighton, James, 61, 62, 71, 74
Creighton, John A., 62, 73, 74
Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico, by J. M. Espinosa, revd., 225-26
Cunha, Aires da, 232
Cunhambeba, 180, 181
Curé of Ruillé, publication of noted, 139
De Smet, Peter, 120
DELANGLEZ, JEAN, revs. McDermott's *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1856,* 289-90; Murphy's *Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi,* 141-43; Roy's *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941,* 291-92
"Democracy as Understood by Thomas Jefferson," by LOUIS MARTIN SEARS, 85-93
Diario de Visita o Descripción del Obispado de Durango, 284
Diaz, Bartholomeu, 11
Díaz, Porfirio, 102
Do Clima e Terra do Brasil, 264, 267, 269-70, 271
Do Principio e Origen dos Indios do Brasil, 264, 267-70
Doering, Heinrich, 284
Doheny, Edward L., 94-108
Domínguez, Miguel, 276
Dominicans, 110, 128
Downey, Fairfax, *Indian-Fighting Army,* revd., 77-78
Drama, 54-55
DUNNE, PETER MASTEN, "The Padre of the Magic Shoes," 272-85
Dutch, in South America, 252, 260, 262, 263
Ebano Company, 101
Economic Defense of the Western

Hemisphere: A Study in Conflicts, publication of noted, 138
Edition of 'Triunfo de los Santos,' With a Consideration of Jesuit School Plays in Mexico before 1650, publication of noted, 219
Education, in Brazil, 10, 23-25, 40-42, 43, 45, 53, 58, 161, 165, 168, 170-71, 184, 194, 195, 197-98, 202, 210, 212, 214; in Portugal, 12-18; Jefferson and, 90-91, 92
"Edward Creighton and the Pacific Telegraph," by P. RAYMOND NIELSON, 61-74
"Edward L. Doheny and the Beginnings of Petroleum Development in Mexico," by FRITZ L. HOFFMANN, 94-108
Edwards, E. A., 97
Elwood, Isaac, 66
Émigrés in the Wilderness, by T. W. Clarke, revd., 143-44
English pirates, 55, 252, 259, 260, 271
Escalante, López de Zubiría y, 284
Escobar, Cristóbal de, 282
ESPINOSA, J. MANUEL, "Fernão Cardim, Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil," 252-71; "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," 27-60; "Luiz de Grã, Mission Builder and Educator in Brazil," 188-216; revs. Leite's *Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heroica et a Sua Obra Literária,* 80-81; Leite's *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira),* 80-81; his *Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico,* revd., 225-26
Espinosa, Juan Pérez de, 121, 122
Espírito Santo, 24, 50, 168, 172, 175, 176, 181, 183, 193, 194, 199, 201, 203, 204, 206, 209, 212, 232, 233, 239, 257, 263
Esquilache, Principe de, 132, 136
Estrada, Francisco, 27
Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French, by R. Wellman, revd., 78
Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876, by W. C. Langdon, revd., 76-77
Evora, 28, 57
Faber, Peter, 13, 18
Fairfax, George William, 85
Faria, Mecía Rodriguez de, 234
Faulhaber, Cardinal, 284
"Fernão Cardim, Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil," by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, 252-71
Fernão Cardim, Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil, 264
Field, Chief Justice, 73
Figueira, Luiz, 260, 261; writings of, revd., 80-81
Financial assistance, to Jesuits in Brazil, 33-40
Finnie, Richard, *Canada Moves North,* revd., 286-87
Fonseca, Luiz da, 33, 42
Foronda, Juan Ortiz, 274
Fort Kearney, 66-67
Franciscans, 112, 128, 130, 276, 285
Franco, Father Antonio, 185
Freitas, Rodrigo de, 31
French, in South America, 26, 55, 56, 57, 176-77, 185, 195, 212, 232, 233, 234, 246, 252, 259, 260
French Revolution, 87
Gallegos, Fernando Talaverano, 132, 133
Gallerati, Constantine, 279
Gama, Vasco da, 11
Gandavo, Pero de Magalhães, 264
Garcia, Rodolfo, 8, 264, 270, 271
García de Loyola, Martín, 111
GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J., revs. McKee's *The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit,* 145; in memoriam, 217-18
Gaucho—Cattle Hunter, Calvaryman, Ideal of Romance, publication of noted, 219
George III, King, 86
"Gilbert J. Garraghan: In Memoriam," 217-18
Glandorff, Francis Herman, 272-85
Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1856, by J. F. McDermott, revd., 289-90
Góes, Pero de, 232, 242, 243, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250
González de San Nicolás, Gil, 110
Gouveia, António de, 196, 213
Gouveia, Cristóvão de, 17, 22, 27-60, 215, 216, 254, 256, 257, 258, 262, 269
Gouveia, Diogo de, 13, 14, 230
Gouveia, Henrique Nunes de, 27-28
"Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, 27-60
Grã, Luiz da, 16, 21, 25, 26, 29, 39, 172, 175, 176, 177, 182, 183, 184, 188-216, 254, 257, 262, 267
Guadalcázar, Marquis of, 100
Guillén, Felipe de, 250
Hackett, Charles Wilson (ed.), *Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III,* revd., 222-24
Hamilton, Alexander, 85, 89
Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents, publication of noted, 139-40
Harney, Martin P., *The Jesuits in*

History, The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries, revd., 146-47
Henry, Prince, the Navigator, 10
Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi, by E. R. Murphy, revd., 141-43
Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico, by S. de Madariaga, revd., 79-80
Hesselmeier, Sixtus, 278, 279
HESSELTINE, W. B., revs. Craven's *The Coming of the Civil War,* 220-21
Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, 8
Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Parish, publication of noted, 138
History of the Expansion of Christianity, publication of noted, 138
HOFFMANN, FRITZ L., "Edward L. Doheny and the Beginnings of Petroleum Development in Mexico," 94-108
Huasteca Petroleum Company, 106
Ilhéus, 24, 160, 163, 164, 175, 183, 205, 207, 209, 211, 212, 232, 233, 247, 256
India, 11, 14, 188, 189, 235
Indian-Fighting Army, by F. Downey, revd., 77-78
Indians, 5, 6, 10, 25, 26, 31, 35, 42-46, 47, 48-49, 50, 52-53, 54, 55-56, 58, 98, 109-37, 159-60, 161-62, 163, 168, 169, 171, 173-77, 178, 191-92, 193, 194-95, 197-208, 209-10, 215, 233, 237, 246, 259-61, 266, 270, 273-76, 277, 280, 281, 283, 284-85
Informação des primeiros aldeiamentos da Baia, 48
Informãço do Brasil para Nosso Padre, 54
International Petroleum Company, 97
Iowa: Her Rivers and Her Valleys, publication of noted, 139
JACOBSEN, JEROME V., "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," 3-26; "Nóbrega of Brazil," 151-87; revs. Koht's *Norway Neutral and Invaded,* 145-46; Rosenman's (comp.), *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,* 81-82
Jácome, Diogo, 158, 160, 163, 243
Jacques, Cristóvão, 229
Jefferson, Thomas, 85-93
"Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," by JEROME V. JACOBSEN, 3-26
Jesuítas en Menéndez Pelayo, publication of noted, 140
Jesuits, in Brazil, 3-26, 27-60, 151-57, 188-216, 243, 245, 246, 247, 251, 252-71; in Chile, 109-37; in Mexico, 272-85
Jesuits in History, The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries, by M. P. Harney, revd., 146-47
John I, King of Portugal, 10
John II, King, 11
John III, King, 5, 11-13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 152, 153, 155, 156, 170, 171, 174, 230, 234, 235, 252
Johnson, Peter Leo, *Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest,* revd., 224-25
KANE, W., revs. Downey's *Indian-Fighting Army,* 77-78; Nef's *The United States and Civilization,* 287-89
Kenna, E. D., 99, 100
Kentucky Resolution, 89-90
KINIERY, PAUL, revs. Clark's *Émigrés in the Wilderness,* 143-44
Koht, Haldvan, *Norway Neutral and Invaded,* revd., 145-46
Kountze Brothers, 65, 74
Kundig, Martin, life of, revd. 224-25
Lagôa dos Patos, 259
Laínez, James, 13, 175, 176
Langdon, William Chauncy, *Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876,* revd., 76-77
LANGFORD, WALTER M., revs. Langdon's *Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876,* 76-77
Language, Indian, 44-45, 46-47, 111-12, 160, 195, 197-98, 260, 262, 274
Lauria, Cristóbal de, 280
Lautaro, 109
Lebuilicán, 125
Leitão, Pedro, 176, 183, 184, 195, 196, 197, 211
Leite, Serafim, 8, 214, 236; his *Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heróica et a Sua Obra Literária,* revd., 80-81; his *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira),* revd., 80-81
Lemos, Lope de Ulloa y, 134, 135, 136
Lima, Manoel de Oliveira, 7, 254
Limatour, José Ives, 105
Lincoln, Abraham, 73
Lisbon, 14, 16, 19
Literature, Brazilian, 263-64
Llacanague, 125
Lobato, João, 260
López, Ildefonso, 99
Lourenço, Braz, 193
Loyola, Ignatius, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 25, 164, 169, 173, 191
"Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians," by BEATRICE BLUM, 109-37

"Luiz de Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," by J. **Manuel Espinosa**, 188-216
Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heróica et a Sua Obra Literária, by S. Leite, revd., 80-81
McCreary, John, 71
McDermott, John Francis, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1856,* revd., 289-90
McKee, Irving, *The Trail of Death: Letters of Banjamin Marie Petit,* revd., 145
Machado, Antonio de Alcantara, 8
Madariaga, Salvador de, *Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico,* revd., 79-80
Madeira, 230
Madureira, João, 258, 259
Magalhães, Couto de, 8
Maginnis, A. P., 97, 99, 102
Maniçoba, 171
Manuel, King, 229
Maracaja Indians, 176
Maranhão, 259, 260
Margil, Fray, 272
Mascarenhas, Pedro, 14
Mendía, Captain, 281
Mercedarians, 130
Merrill, Ethel Owen, revs. *Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest,* 224-25
Metzger, Charles H., revs. Burnett's *The Continental Congress,* 75-76
Mexican Central Railroad, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106
Mexican Petroleum Company, 101, 103, 105, 106
Mexico, 94-108, 272-85
Mexico City, 285
Mirão, Diogo, 15, 18
Missouri and Western Telegraph Company, 66, 68
Missouri Historical Review, contents of noted, 140
Montalbán, Diego de, 127
Monterey, Conde de, 115
Montes Claros, Marqués de, 115, 119
Morton, J. Sterling, 63
Mullens, P. A., 66
Murphy, Edmund Robert, *Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi,* revd., 141-43
Nabuco, Joaquim, 6, 8
Narrativa Epistolar, 31, 49, 52, 256, 257, 264, 265-67, 268, 269
National Archives, publication of *Bulletins* of noted, 140
Navarro, João de Azpilcueta, 158, 168, 173, 174, 243, 250
Navarro, Martim de Azpilcueta, 152, 153, 167
Nef, John W., *The United States and Civilization,* revd., 287-89
Negroes, 45-46, 52, 162, 166, 246, 247, 261
Neumann, Joseph, 274, 275
Nevins, W. G., 100
Nicholas V, Pope, 11
Nielson, P. Raymond, "Edward Creighton and the Pacific Telegraph," 61-74
Nóbrega, Baltasar da, 152
Nóbrega, Manuel da, 6, 10, 17, 21, 22, 24, 25-26, 29, 39, 119, 151-87, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 200, 209, 211, 212, 216, 243, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 259
"Nóbrega of Brazil," by **Jerome V. Jacobsen**, 151-87
Norway Neutral and Invaded, by H. Koht, revd., 145-46
Notes and Comments, 138-40, 219
Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira), by S. Leite, revd., 80-81
Nunes, Leonardo, 24, 158, 160, 163, 168, 169, 170, 243
O Uraguai, publication of noted, 219
Oil. *See* Petroleum
Old South: The Founding of American Civilization, by T. J. Wertenbaker, revd., 221-22
Oliveira, Gonçalo, 181, 182
Omaha, 61, 63, 66, 69, 74
Oñez, García, 112
Order of the Cincinnati, 88
Ordóñez, Ezequiel, 102, 105-06
O'Reilly, Henry, 62
Overland Telegraph Company, 68
Pacific Gold and Silver Extracting Company, 95-96
Pacific Telegraph Company, 61-74
"Padre of the Magic Shoes," by **Peter Masten Dunne**, 272-85
Paiva, Manuel de, 169
Paraguay, 55-57, 192, 193, 198
Paraguay Reductions, 169, 199
Paraiba do Sul, 232, 242
Paul III, Pope, 13
Paul V, Pope, 118
Pernambuco, 24, 41, 45, 51-53, 166, 190, 196, 206, 208, 211, 212, 213-14, 215, 216, 231-32, 233, 248, 256, 260
Peixoto, Afrânio, 7, 8
Petit, Benjamin Marie, letters of, revd., 145
Petroleum, development of in Mexico, 94-108
Philip II, King, 18, 30, 37, 100, 253
Philip III, King, 116, 119, 128-29, 131
Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III, edited by C. W. Hackett, revd., 222-24

Pierce, Henry Clay, 101, 104, 106
Piñas, Baltasar, Father, 110
Pinto, Francisco, 215, 260, 261
Piratininga, 170, 178, 180, 181, 190, 194, 195, 196, 212, 257
Pires, Ambrosio, 23
Pires, António, 158, 159, 166, 243
Pires, Francisco, 30, 168
Pombo, José Francisco de Rocha, 6
Porter, Henry M., 66, 68, 69
Pôrto, 27, 28
Porto Seguro, 24, 50, 163, 168, 172, 175, 183, 209, 211, 212, 232, 233, 234, 247, 256
Portugal, colonizations of in Brazil, 3-26, 27-60, 151-87, 188-216, 229-51, 252-71; Jesuits in, 10-19, 153-56; union of with Spain, 253
Prado, Eduardo, 8
Primera y segunda y tercera partes de la historia medicinal, 270
Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, compiled by S. I. Rosenman, revd., 81-82
Purchas, Samuel, 9, 267-68, 269
Purchas his Pilgrimes, 267
Quiróga, Rodrigo de, 116
Ramalho, João, 168, 169
Ramón, García, 114, 115, 116, 118
Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941, by A. Roy, revd., 291-92
Ratio Studiorum, 41, 58
Recife. *See* Pernambuco
Revista Mensal da Secção da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa no Rio de Janeiro, 269
Rhodes, Cecil, 99
Ribera, Alonso de, 116, 122, 123, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132
Río, Pablo Martínez del, 100, 103
Rio de Janeiro, 21, 25-26, 41, 51, 56, 168, 176, 177, 181-82, 183, 195, 212, 248, 250, 252, 257, 258
Rio Grande do Norte, 260
Rio Grande do Sul, 260
Robinson, A. A., 98, 99, 101
Rodrigues, Francisco de Paula, 8
Rodrigues, Jerónimo, 260, 262
Rodrigues, Luiz, 209
Rodrigues, Pero, 262
Rodrigues, Simon, 13, 14-15, 16, 17-18, 19, 20, 21, 156, 167
Rodrigues, Vicente, 33, 158, 161, 243
Rojas, Carlos de, 280
Romeral, Pedro Tamarón y, 283-84
Romero, Francisco, 232
Roosevelt, Franklin D., papers and addresses of, revd., 81-82
Rosenman, Samuel I. (comp.), *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,* revd., 81-82
ROUBIK, JOSEPH, revs. Wellman's *Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French,* 78
Roy, Antoine, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1941,* revd., 291-92
Sá, Estácio de, 26, 181, 182, 183
Sá Mem de, 151, 174, 175, 177, 181, 183, 184, 196, 197, 198, 200, 211, 212
St. Louis and Missouri River Telegraph Company, 65, 66
Salina, Marqués de, 113
Salto, Lorenzo de, 118
Salvador, Brazil, 139, 163, 244; *see* Bahia
Sampaio, Feodoro, 8
Sánchez, Manuel, 274
Santa Cruz, Brazil, 203, 205
Santa Fe Railroad, 97, 100
Santiago, Chile, 109, 110, 111, 114, 131, 194, 198, 200-01, 203, 204, 209
Santo Amaro, Brazil, 172
Santo António, Brazil, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209
Santos, Brazil, 50-51, 234, 250, 257
São João, Brazil, 175, 194, 198, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209
São Paulo, Brazil, 21, 25, 26, 39, 50, 54, 169, 175, 176, 182, 183, 234, 257
São Paulo de Piratininga, 25, 194, 198, 203, 204, 209
São Vicente, Brazil, 25, 26, 50-51, 168, 169, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 212, 230, 233, 247, 250, 257, 259
Sardinha, Pedro Fernandes, 167, 172, 249
SEARS LOUIS MARTIN, "Democracy as Understood by Thomas Jefferson," 85-93
Sebastião, King, 39, 214
Serra, Junipero, 272
SHIELS, W. EUGENE, revs. Hackett's (ed.) *Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III,* 222-24
Short, William, 87
Sibley, Hiram, 62, 64, 68
Silva, Francisco da, 243
Silva, Manuel Vicente de, 8
Silveira, Antonio de, 235
Slavery, in Brazil, 45-47, 48-49, 52, 54, 59, 86, 162, 193, 197, 206, 208, 209, 211, 233, 240, 247, 260, 261; in Chile, 120; in Mexico, 276
SMELSER, MARSHALL, revs. Wertenbaker's *The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization,* 221-22
Sobrino, Gaspar, 122, 129, 130, 131, 132
Social Science, contents of noted, 140

Society of American Archivists, publication of report of noted, 140
Sória, Jacques, 185
Sosa, Pedro de, 128-30, 131
Sousa, Francisco de, 257
Sousa, Gabriel Soares de, 264
Sousa, João de, 56, 234
Sousa, Lope de, 234
Sousa, Martim Affonso de, 14-15, 21, 24, 230, 234, 235, 252
Sousa, Pero Lopes de, 235
Sousa, Thomé de, 6, 21, 151, 156, 163, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 175, 176, 229-51
South America Jesuits in, 3-26, 27-60, 109-37, 151-87, 188-216, 243, 245, 246, 247, 251, 252-71
South Dakota Historical Collections, publication of nineteenth volume of noted, 139
Southey, Robert, 4-5
Souza. *See* Sousa
Spain, colonizations of in New World, 109-37, 229, 272-85; Jesuits in, 18-19; union of with Portugal, 253; in South America, 109-37, 229, 232, 233, 234, 250
Spiritual Conquest—The Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, 1610-1767, publication of noted, 219
State and Local History News, publication of noted, 140
Stebbins, Charles M., 65, 66, 68
Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest, by P. L. Johnson, revd., 224-25
Suárez, Francis, 279
Tamburini, Michael, 273
Tamoio Indians, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181
Tarahumar Indians, 273-76, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284-85
Taveira, Antonio, 188
Telegraph, Edward Creighton and, 61-74
Tello, Barnabé, 31, 57, 266
Thevet, André, 177
"Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil, 1549-1553," by RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER, 229-51
Tolosa, Inácio, 22, 213, 215
Tomochic, Mexico, 274, 275, 281, 283, 284, 285
Tonty, Henry de, biography of, revd., 141-43
Torres, Diego de, 121-22, 124, 128
Tourinho, Pero do Campo, 232, 234
Tourinho, Sebastião Fernandes, 250
Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit, by I. McKee, revd., 145
Treatise of Brasil, 267-69
TREUTLEIN, THEODORE, revs. Harney's *The Jesuits in History, The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries,* 146-47
Tubarão, Brazil, 173-74
Tupi Indians, 178, 179, 180
Tupinamba Indians, 237, 238
Tureulipe, 125, 133
Ulloa, Osores de, 136
United States and Civilization, by J. W. Nef, revd., 287-89
University of Coimbra, 14, 15-16, 17, 20, 152, 153, 188, 189
University of Paris, 13
University of Salamanca, 152
University of Virginia, 90-91
Utilflame, 126, 127
Valdivia, Luis de, 109-37
Valdivia, Pedro de, 109-10
Vargas, Diego de, story of, revd., 225-26
Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo, 37, 236, 265, 267
Vasconcellos, Simão de, 193
Vecchi, Horacio, 124, 127
Viana, Antonio Ferreira, 8
Vicente, Frei, 264
Vieira, Antonio, 10, 41, 262, 263
Villegaignon, Nicolas Durand de, 177
Vitelleschi, Mutius, 135, 136
Wade, J. H., 62, 65, 66, 67-68, 73
Washington, George, 88-89
Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State, publication of noted, 139
Waters-Pierce Oil Company, 101, 104-05
Wellman, Rita, *Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French,* revd., 78
Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson, *The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization,* revd., 221-22
Western Union Telegraph Company, 62, 64-65, 66, 68, 73
WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN, revs. Finnie's *Canada Moves North,* 286-87
Wisconsin Magazine of History, contents of noted, 140
Wylie, Herbert G., 102-03, 106
Xavier, Francis, 13, 14, 189, 281
Young, Brigham, 67, 73
Yunbel, 132, 133
Zacatecas, 285
Zubiría, José Antonio, 277

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XXIV
(New Series, Vol. XIII)
1942

PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIV

ARTICLES

JESUIT FOUNDERS IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL. *Jerome V. Jacobsen* . 3

GOUVEIA: JESUIT LAWGIVER IN BRAZIL. *J. Manuel Espinosa* . . 27

EDWARD CREIGHTON AND THE PACIFIC TELEGRAPH. *P. Raymond Nielson* 61

DEMOCRACY AS UNDERSTOOD BY THOMAS JEFFERSON. *Louis Martin Sears* 85

EDWARD L. DOHENY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT IN MEXICO. *Fritz L. Hoffmann* 94

LUIS DE VALDIVIA, DEFENDER OF THE ARAUCANIANS. *Beatrice Blum* 109

NOBREGA OF BRAZIL. *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 151

LUIZ DA GRA, MISSION BUILDER AND EDUCATOR OF BRAZIL. *J. Manuel Espinosa* 188

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN: IN MEMORIAM 217

THOME DE SOUSA, FIRST GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRAZIL, 1549-1553. *Ruth Lapham Butler* 229

FERNAO CARDIM, JESUIT HUMANIST OF COLONIAL BRAZIL. *J. Manuel Espinosa* 252

THE PADRE OF THE MAGIC SHOES. *Peter Masten Dunne* 272

NOTES AND COMMENT 138, 219

BOOK REVIEWS 75, 141, 220, 286

INDEX 293

CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION
3 0311 00147 6618

BX 940 .I342 v.24

Mid-America: an historical
review.

3 0311 00147 6618